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25 CENTS

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THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

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HOSPITAL
STRIKERS
1199

SOUTH AFRICA

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CIA: 'No comment'

Bush beats around the bush on burglaries

By Claire Moriarty

ABC-TV news reporter Brit Hume and a crew of television cameramen set up their equipment and lay in wait. They had converged on the home of CIA Director George Bush in the early morning hours of July 16.

Only days before, Bush had officially acknowledged for the first time that the CIA relies on buggings and burglaries to obtain information on American citizens abroad. Bush did not deny that this policy continues today.

His admission appeared in a sworn affidavit filed in response to questions put by the Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance as part of their lawsuit against government harassment.

ABC-TV was in suburban Washington to record Bush's response to the public disclosure. Do the burglaries continue? they asked him. Aren't they illegal?

But Brit Hume could add nothing to the Bush affidavit in Friday night's telecast. The grim-faced CIA director had no comment.

CBS newscaster Walter Cronkite reported, however, that there was no

indication that the CIA bugging or burglaries had stopped.

Bush refused to provide details about the dates or locations of the foreign electronic surveillance. Secrecy was necessary, he said, to protect the "sources and methods" of the CIA. A twenty-nine-page Justice Department legal memorandum filed with the Bush affidavit asserts that the CIA has a right to keep secret details about its activities under something it calls the "secrets of state privilege."

Specifics on CIA actions overseas were contained in a separate "top secret" document turned over to the U.S. attorney's office in New York. The document was released on condition that it be made available only to the judge and not to the SWP or the public.

The socialists' lawsuit will be one of the first in which a court is asked to decide the legality of such overseas activities of U.S. intelligence agencies.

Associated Press and United Press International wire services carried coverage of the CIA disclosures to newspapers and radio stations across the country.

The story made front-page news

from the *Boston Globe* and the *Washington Post* to the *Los Angeles Times*.

CIA spokesperson Andrew Falkiewicz's response to the reports was terse. "I am not going to comment on any affidavit by the director of the CIA," he told the *Washington Post*.

Questioned by the *Los Angeles*

Times about the agency's policy, a CIA spokesperson said the agency has never rejected the use of surreptitious entry as a technique for gathering information abroad. But he refused to say whether the CIA still conducts burglaries against U.S. citizens overseas.

G-man takes Fifth--80 times

In forty-five minutes of questioning on July 14, FBI agent Joseph Furrer cited his Fifth Amendment privilege against self-incrimination some eighty times—about once every thirty seconds.

Furrer was responding to Federal Judge Thomas Griesa's order to testify under oath in the Socialist Workers party lawsuit against government harassment.

His refusal a week earlier to answer questions as basic as whether he worked for the FBI made him the first agent in history to take the Fifth Amendment.

The socialists wanted to question

Furrer because—according to the U.S. attorneys handling the government's case—he is in charge of New York's FBI operations against the SWP, and has been since 1971.

Leonard Boudin, the prominent civil liberties lawyer who is handling the SWP suit, has suggested at a hearing before Judge Griesa that the government has an obligation to grant Furrer immunity from prosecution to allow him to disclose facts essential to the socialists' case.

Another hearing on Furrer's response to questioning is scheduled for July 23.

—C.M.

A case of self-defense

Indians acquitted in deaths of FBI men

By José G. Pérez

In a stunning victory for the American Indian Movement, two activists accused of murdering FBI agents were found innocent in a Cedar Rapids, Iowa, federal court July 16.

Darrelle "Dino" Butler and Robert Robideau were declared not guilty of all charges by an all-white jury that took five days to reach its decision.

The acquittal is a major blow to the government's campaign of harassment, victimizations, and frame-ups against Indian activists.

It is noteworthy that a large part of the activists' case was based on the right of people to defend themselves from attack.

A spokesperson for the defense said they believe this is the first time anyone has been found not guilty of murdering FBI agents after basing so much of their case on self-defense.

The charges against the activists stem from a June 26, 1975, shooting incident on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota. Two FBI agents and an Indian man were killed.

A defense spokesperson said that despite this verdict, the government

appears to be going ahead with plans to prosecute two more Indians for the deaths of the FBI agents. They are Jimmy Eagle, who is being held in California awaiting trial, and Leonard Peltier, who is in Canada fighting for political asylum there.

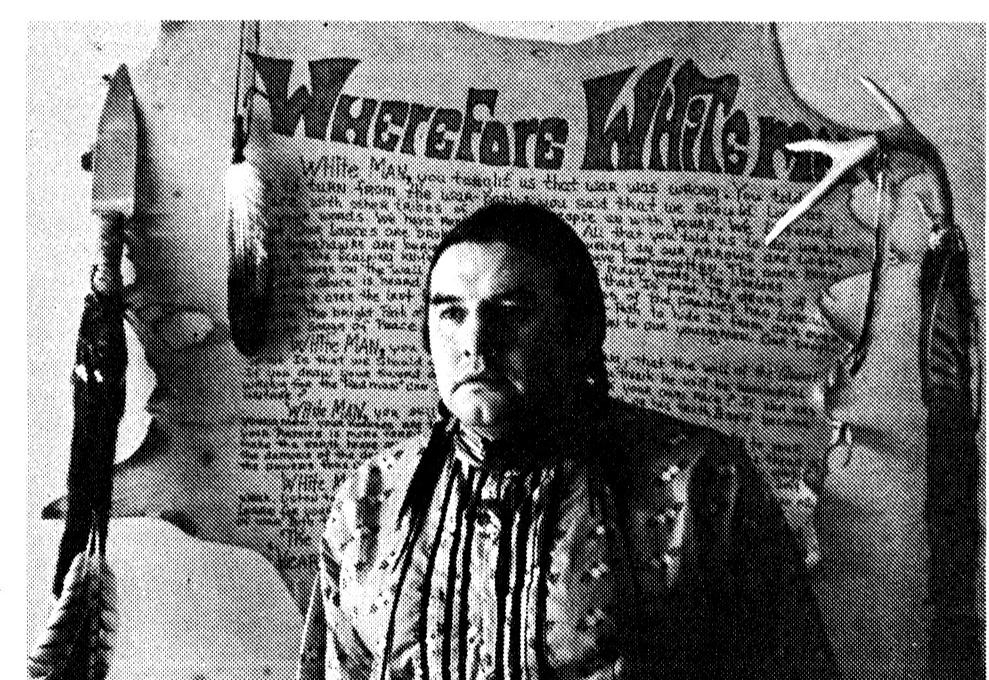
The trial started in Cedar Rapids on June 7 after having been moved from South Dakota because of rampant anti-Indian prejudice there.

The prosecution's case was very weak, particularly after the government called up Norman Brown, a young Navaho man. Brown revealed that he had been threatened with prosecution if he didn't testify. He then gave a version of the shootings that upheld the case of the defense.

Brown said people drove up in several cars and opened fire on a group of AIM activists camped at a privately owned ranch. He and other Indians returned shots in self-defense and then left the area.

It is not clear whether the people who attacked the Indians were the two FBI agents who died.

It could have been part of an army of



AIM's VERNON BELLECOURT: 'I think this jury saw who the real terrorist organization was—and it wasn't the American Indian Movement.'

more than 300 government agents and white vigilantes who invaded the reservation as soon as the shooting started.

Several reservation residents and an official of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission took the stand for the defense. They explained that there has been a reign of terror on the reservation since the occupation of Wounded Knee in 1973. Dozens of Indians have been killed—primarily people associated with AIM—and no one has been convicted for the crimes.

This was a crucial link in the defense case. The defense was trying to show that AIM activists on the reservation had good reason to expect attacks and to be prepared to defend themselves.

Defense attorneys also established that AIM has been a special target of FBI dirty tricks. They forced Clarence Kelley, head of the bureau, to testify under threat of a contempt-of-court citation.

Under questioning from attorney William Kunstler, Kelley admitted FBI infiltration of AIM. He also corroborated the existence of secret plots against the Indian group.

Sen. Frank Church also testified for the defense as an expert witness on FBI criminality. He headed a Senate probe of FBI activities.

Church described the FBI "disruption programs" against the Socialist Workers party, Black Panther party, and other groups. FBI tactics against AIM were cast from the same mold, the senator said.

Vernon Bellecourt, an AIM national field director, told the *Militant* that the jury verdict was "a tremendous victory."

"Basically what it amounts to is that we had the FBI on trial," he said.

Bellecourt had high praise for the legal defense team, which he said was an important reason for the victory, but not the only one.

Another factor is public opinion of the FBI in light of continuing revelations about the crimes of its agents. "We're starting to get the kind of juries that don't see the FBI as knights in shining armor," Bellecourt said.

"I think this jury saw who the real terrorist organization was," the AIM leader added, "and it wasn't the American Indian Movement."

Kelley sacks FBI's No. 2

The beleaguered state of the nation's top law enforcement agency was dramatized July 16 when FBI Director Clarence Kelley fired the number-two man in the bureau.

Nicholas Callahan, the fired G-man, had been with the bureau for forty-one years. He was Kelley's top aide.

Kelley refused to explain his action, citing ongoing Justice Department investigations into criminal activities of FBI agents.

There are two separate investigations reportedly under way. One centers on allegations that bureau officials took kickbacks.

The other resulted from the Socialist Workers party suit against the government. The judge presiding over the case ordered G-men to search the ultra-secret files kept at

local FBI headquarters, uncovering evidence that FBI burglaries continued into the 1970s.

However, John Crewdson reported in the July 18 *New York Times* that the firing may not be related to either probe. He cited a source who "said that some unrelated wrongdoing by Mr. Callahan . . . had been uncovered."

On July 20, Crewdson reported that Callahan for several years controlled a slush fund of up to \$80,000 used by J. Edgar Hoover and other top officials. Bureau employees were pressured to contribute to the fund, purportedly to pay for recreational activities that didn't take place. Officials said this slush fund had nothing to do with the burglaries or kickbacks under investigation.

—J.G.P.

SWP presidential candidate at N.Y. rally

Why Democrats chose Jimmy Carter

By Dick Roberts

NEW YORK—Jimmy Carter was nominated, Minnesota Sen. Walter Mondale was picked as the vice-presidential candidate, and the Democratic party conventioneers have gone back to their respective states.

"Of course they thought New York was safer than they were told," Peter Camejo, the Socialist Workers party presidential candidate, said in a blistering attack on the Democratic party.

"The Democrats stayed in the most expensive hotels, ate in the most expensive restaurants, and took cabs and private buses to and from the convention. Their New York was not the real New York," Camejo said.

"The central point of the Democratic party convention was precisely to hide the real issues in American society today."

Camejo analyzed the Democratic convention before a packed audience at a New York rally July 16. On the same platform were members of the striking hospital workers union who had remained on the picket lines throughout the Democratic party's festivities. Marcia Gallo, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from New York, also spoke. Socialist congressional candidate Pat Wright chaired.

Camejo indicated the issues that the socialist campaign would be stressing now that the Democrats have launched the Carter-Mondale ticket.

Lack credibility

"The Democrats have the problem of reversing deep cynicism about this government," Camejo said.

Because of the Vietnam War, the unending chain of revelations that began with Watergate and now includes the whole gamut of FBI and CIA activities, and the unbridled corruption of Democratic party politicians, "they don't have credibility," Camejo said.

He cited statistics noting the record-low turnout of voters in this year's presidential primaries. According to an Associated Press dispatch carried in



PETER CAMEJO: 'They don't have credibility.'

Militant/Lou Howort

the June 10 *Boston Globe*, of the total voting-age U.S. population, 17.6 percent voted in the 1976 primaries.

Jimmy Carter's total vote came to 4.2 percent of the voting-age population, compared with 3.4 percent for Ford and 3.1 percent for Reagan.

"In a European country with a parliamentary system," Camejo said, "if a government got only 4.2 percent of the vote, it would fall. In fact it would fall if it got 10.7 percent of the vote—the total for Reagan, Ford, and Carter. A huge percentage of Americans didn't see any reason to vote for these candidates."

It is the Democrats' attempt to restore confidence in the capitalist electoral system that explains the particular way Carter's image was built up and the monotonous repetition of the meaningless themes of "unity," "agreement," "the need for change," etc., at the Democratic convention—"where no real issues were ever men-

tioned."

"Humphrey Bogart did better than the Democrats," Camejo said. He was referring to the local TV ratings revealing that an independent New York showing of *Casablanca* got as many viewers as the combined total of viewers for the three major networks covering the Democratic convention. "And that's after every New Yorker has seen *Casablanca* several times," Camejo added.

Antilabor drive

The Democratic convention made quite a show of being the "all-inclusive" party of Blacks, trade unionists, and leaders of the women's movement. Interspersed throughout the show were speeches by well-known figures in various movements, from the United Farm Workers' César Chávez to Mary Ann Krupsak, New York's first woman lieutenant governor.

But the reality of the Democratic party in office, said Camejo, is that it is carrying out "the offensive against workers—to lower the standard of living of all American people—that has been launched by the capitalists."

"In 1976, women, workers, Blacks, Chicanos, and other oppressed minority peoples are on the defensive. The ruling class is on the attack. They are taking on the unions more and more and they have even begun to break unions," Camejo said, citing the defeat of the *Washington Post* printers as an example.

"The Democratic party pretends to be the 'people's party,'" Camejo said. "But the overwhelming majority of the people are workers. The Democratic party is against workers."

"For instance, they cheered New York Mayor Beame. Look what this man has done to working people. He has fired tens of thousands of workers.

"They say 'Carter cares.' Just imagine the impact it would have had if Carter walked across the street from the Democratic convention and joined the 1199 picket line of the striking hospital workers!" Camejo said.

"The tie of the unions to the Democratic party actually means that the labor movement has no party. It is tied to the Democrats and this means its arms are tied behind its back."

The convention speech by former civil rights activist Andrew Young, now a representative in the U.S. Congress, epitomized for Camejo the treachery of asking working people and Blacks to vote Democratic. Young told the Democratic convention, "There is no racism in Georgia because

Carter ended it."

"I challenge," Camejo said, "Andrew Young to take a referendum among Blacks in Georgia and see whether there is any racism. The truth is evident to anyone who has been there. There is massive discrimination against Blacks, in education, in housing, in jobs.

"If anything, it is more segregated today than when Carter first took office because the schools are once again becoming segregated.

"But Andrew Young has something more important than the Black people of Georgia in mind when he tells this lie. Himself.

"He does not represent the Black people. He represents the Democratic party. Politicians like Young are the living embodiment of the degeneracy of a society that puts profits for the rich over the basic human needs of people."

"Bella Abzug was another example," Camejo continued. "She was saying anything and doing anything that would lead to one conclusion—getting a Senate seat. Bella is willing to trade her influence over the women's movement for a seat in the U.S. Senate, and it is the only way to earn her way up in the Democratic party."

These Democrats vividly illustrate what the "Democratic machine really is. A machine for those looking for jobs at the service of the rich."

California Black Democrat Ronald Dellums was given a special twelve-minute time slot in order to make a speech turning down a nomination as vice-president. "The Dellums business was a trap and a trick to Black people," Camejo said.

"Dellums plays the role of the left cover for the Democratic party. He is playing one angle. He's militant."

"Dellums had twelve minutes before the TV cameras to tell the nation the truth. He could have said that the Democratic party works solely to preserve the interests of the capitalist class and that it is necessary for all Blacks, for all oppressed minorities, for all working people to leave the Democratic party and to form their own party."

"Instead Dellums pretends to 'criticize' the Democrats. He is the perfect example of the hungry Democratic politician."

Socialist view

Camejo ended his analysis by stressing the importance of the Socialist Workers campaign. He noted that the whole Democratic party convention showed the fear the Democrats have of a possible breakaway from capitalist politics. "The real issue that it is all designed to hide," he said, "is what social layer is going to rule this country."

"Is it going to be the working people, the overwhelming majority? Is it going to be Blacks, Chicanos, and women—or the tiny minority who have control over the entire economy because they inherited it at birth?"

"The central aim of the Democratic party convention, and of all Democratic and Republican politics, is to conceal this question."

Camejo said that the SWP was popularizing the basic truths about American society, about unemployment, racism, sexism, and the attacks on democratic rights that the Democrats will not and cannot talk about.

"We make it clear that the working people of this country need a party of labor, a party that represents our class, a mass party, in order to begin to solve the problems we all face. We must break from the Democrats and Republicans," he ended.

Socialists set petition drive

By Ed Smith

NEW YORK—The New York Socialist Workers party outlined plans for petitioning in New York State at the July 16 rally here where SWP presidential candidate Peter Camejo analyzed the Democratic party convention.

"The legal requirement is 32,000 signatures," said Pat Wright, the SWP candidate for U.S. Congress from the Fourteenth Congressional District. This would obtain ballot status for the presidential, vice-presidential, senatorial and four New York posts SWP candidates are running for.

The socialist campaign supporters are seeking nearly double that number in an attempt to ensure validation of the petitions.

"The Democratic party convention showed how crucial it is to get a socialist alternative on the ballot," Wright said.

She noted that there are many thousands of people who have been active in past and present struggles who must have been bitterly disappointed by the refusal of the Democrats to take significant stands on the social problems everyone faces.

"Such people will be wondering if there isn't something really meaningful they can do this summer instead of whipping up support for



PAT WRIGHT

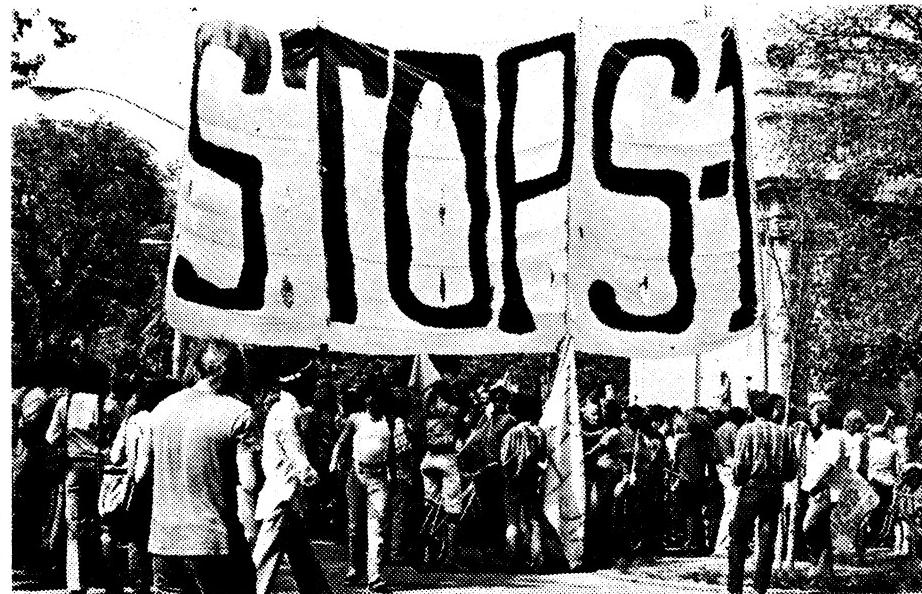
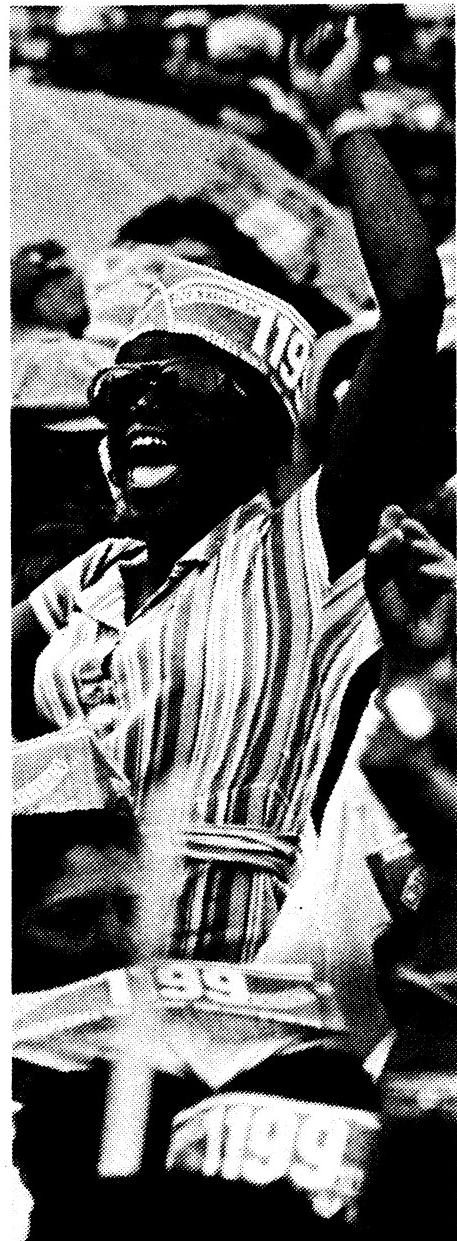
Militant/Lou Howort

Carter—and there is," Wright said. "They can help to put on the ballot a party that is actively fighting for what people need today—against the cutbacks, for women's rights, and for the rights of Black and Puerto Rican people."

Those who are interested in helping with this important socialist ballot effort should contact the New York Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, 853 Broadway, Room 412, New York, New York 10003. Telephone: (212) 982-8214.



Outside the convention



Photos by Lou Howort

Women, Democrats, and 'practical politics'

By Ginny Hildebrand

NEW YORK—The Democratic party convention was a lesson in what the National Women's Political Caucus calls "the practical politics of the women's movement."

It began with the fight over increasing the number of female delegates at future party conventions. This issue was the subject of a highly publicized negotiating session on Sunday afternoon, July 11, between Jimmy Carter and leading women Democrats.

That evening I attended a gala benefit thrown by the Democratic Task Force of the National Women's Political Caucus. New York Lt. Gov. Mary Ann Krupsak was there and reported on the negotiations with Carter.

"With all of the pressures and all of the demands on Jimmy Carter's time, he gave women who came together representing voices from across this country an hour to talk, to listen, and to share," she said. "And I'm convinced, and I think that everybody in that room was convinced, that the sensitivity . . . the desires that women represent will find a very affirmative and direct place in this man's administration."

Rep. Bella Abzug was equally evasive when she spoke. "Governor Carter said that he believed God did right in creating men and women in equal numbers and that he approves of it," she reported.

"And, he said that he believes in compensatory action to make up for past discrimination."

So? What did Carter decide, I wondered, as I leaned against a banister in the Met's four-tiered lobby.

We had to wait for the morning papers to get the real lowdown: Carter had rejected the women's proposal. He refused to change the party's rules to "require" 50 percent women delegates in the future and to commit the party to taking "all feasible steps" to ensure this. His watered-down alternative—to "promote" and "encourage" this goal.

You would never have known this to hear the reports at women's caucus meetings on Monday and Tuesday.

"Our demands have been responded to in full," announced Abzug. Koryne Horbal, another negotiator, added that Carter's "rhetoric" on other feminist issues constituted "a victory for women."

Not all the women in the caucus meeting saw it that way. Some were angry. All they saw was a speedy retreat on the one issue their leaders had sworn they'd fight for to the bitter end.

They were right. But they only saw half the story, because the delegate question never was the *real* issue. The politicians and the media used it to drum up interest in the convention and make it look like the party was addressing the concerns of women.

Carter's rejection of the rules proposal was significant in one sense. It symbolized just how little the Democrats are willing to give to women.

I was prepared for the delegates at the convention to sidestep the issues. But, as I flashed my *Militant* press card and stepped up the Met's red-carpeted staircase to the Women's Political Caucus benefit, I was at least expecting to hear the speakers there say *something* about women's issues.

I was wrong.

From the speeches that night, you never would have known that child-care centers were closing down all across the country. You wouldn't have known that the 10,000 "right-to-lifers" demonstrating outside the convention were a serious threat to our right to abortion. You wouldn't have known that massive layoffs were decimating the affirmative-action gains won by women. And, you wouldn't have known that Jimmy Carter and the

Democratic party platform committee had thumbed their noses at the rights of gay people.

The only "safe" issue for specifying that night was the Equal Rights Amendment. It's even in the party platform: "We seek ratification of the equal rights amendment." Of course, the ERA was also in the 1972 platform.

Since then, Abzug said, the Democratic-controlled Congress has passed the ERA. True. But what she didn't say is that in fourteen of the sixteen state legislatures that haven't ratified the ERA, it's the *Democrats* who have sabotaged the amendment. They have the majority of the votes. Including in Jimmy Carter's Georgia.

It wasn't an oversight. For Abzug to admit this would have disrupted the whole purpose of the evening's gathering: to sweep the issues under the rug in the name of unity behind the Democratic party and its chief standard-bearer.

The biggest "victory for women" hailed that evening was the increased number of women Democrats elected to office. More women in public office and appointed posts, said Abzug, a candidate for U.S. Senate, means greater power for the women's movement: "We are trying to say that men and women should use their votes to elect women."

Gloria Steinem, a founder of the Women's Political Caucus, echoed this, saying, "Now we have women with their own constituencies, women who cannot be ignored."

But neither she nor any of the others could point to a single example of how the masses of women have advanced as a result of more women Democrats climbing the political ladder. There are no examples. The truth is that while more women now sit in Congress, in state legislatures, and even in governors' seats, every gain women fought for over the past decade is under attack by the government, by the very party the Women's Political Caucus says to vote for.

Running for office on the Democratic ticket—and urging women to give their votes and their energies to that ticket—only helps maintain illusions in that party.

Those illusions are wearing extremely thin today. The Democratic party is more clearly than ever the party of corruption, racism, sexism—the party of the millionaires who prosper off the oppression of women, Blacks, and working people.

So it's "practical politics" for the ruling class to let a few radical-sounding women into office, if that means their supporters will follow. And it may seem like "practical politics" to the handful of women who do get elected.

But the only "practical politics" for the women's movement is for every feminist to get out of the Democratic and Republican parties and rely on the independent power we have as a united force directed *against* the policies of the two capitalist parties.

New Edition

Why Women Need the Equal Rights Amendment

By Dianne Feeley

Includes "The Case for the Equal Rights Amendment" and "How to Win the ERA." 24 pp., 35 cents

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014

Over 60,000 signatures collected Statewide California SWP petitioning

By Arnold Weissberg

LOS ANGELES—Early morning fog shrouded Los Angeles July 10 as teams of petitioners rolled up to the Socialist Workers campaign headquarters in the Crenshaw district.

The crews were beginning three weeks of full-time petitioning, aimed at gathering well over the 100,000 signatures required by California law

LOS ANGELES, July 20—In the second week of petitioning the California Socialist Workers campaign has collected a total of 60,315 signatures each for the presidential and vice-presidential ticket of Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid and the senatorial candidate, Omari Musa.

Nevertheless, the committee is aiming for many thousands more signatures than the legal requirement of 100,000 in order to ensure a place on the ballot.

Volunteers are urgently needed. To help this massive effort contact the socialist campaign office nearest you. See the Socialist Directory on page 31.

to place independent candidates on the ballot.

The drive will place the candidates of the Socialist Workers party—Peter Camejo for president, Willie Mae Reid for vice-president, and Omari Musa for U.S. Senate—on the California ballot for the first time ever.

Campaign supporters scattered to campuses, shopping centers, and downtown areas, hitting points all around sprawling Los Angeles County.

Similar scenes were enacted in San Francisco, San Diego, Berkeley, San Jose, and Oakland.

Temporarily relieved of my duties at the *Militant's* Southwest Bureau, I joined a full-time petitioning team. I spent the week collecting signatures at the University of California at Los Angeles.

A typical day begins about 9:00 a.m. when we arrive on campus. We work straight through the morning, shooting for fifty to sixty signatures before lunch.

Lunch hour on campus is the busiest. We work with two or even three petition boards simultaneously, trying not to let a single registered voter slip away. Sometimes as many as five people can be seen signing at the same time.

Our task is complicated by the irrational rule that signatures from every city and unincorporated area must be submitted on a separate sheet. This rule creates special problems in Los Angeles County, which has seventy-eight incorporated cities.

After a brief lunch break, we move our operations to Westwood, the business area adjacent to the UCLA campus. The streets are busy here, full of students, young people out of school for the summer, shoppers, and later in the afternoon, campus workers catching the bus home.

The pace is brisk at one bus stop near the campus, located on a busy corner. No break all afternoon. You hate to let even one registered voter get away.

The 100 mark usually comes around 6:00 p.m. Back at the Crenshaw headquarters we sign in the petitions and shoot the breeze with other teams.

Other teams have been downtown, also a rich vein for signatures, and in shopping centers in the Black and Chicano communities.

San Francisco teams hit the unemployment offices and the welfare offices.

Petitioners around the state have been distributing the campaign leaflet that explains the socialist platform and urges signers to help with the signature drive.

San Francisco reported that twelve people joined the petition campaign after receiving the leaflet.

Berkeley petitioners also report a high level of interest in the socialist campaign.

Many team members from around the state report that signers are anxious to see an alternative to the Democrats and Republicans on the ballot.

Canvassing isn't limited to full-time teams. Each SWP unit in the state has organized regular efforts for weekends and weeknights.

Many petitioners have run across the teams for the Communist party, which is also trying to qualify its presidential ticket for the ballot.

Texas socialists hand in 31,000 signatures



SWP news conference in Austin announces successful signature drive. Standing, Dan Fein. Seated, from left to right, Pat O'Reilly, Agnes Chapa, Pedro Vásquez.

By Stu Singer

AUSTIN, Tex.—At a well-attended news conference in the state capitol here July 12, the Socialist Workers party submitted the signatures of more than 31,000 Texas voters who want to see the socialist alternative on the Texas ballot in November. This is almost double the required total of 16,550 signatures.

Every radio and TV station and newspaper in Austin, plus representatives of the statewide media, crowded into the room provided by the secretary of state for the announcement.

A giant wooden seal of Texas covered the wall behind the speakers.

Dan Fein, the Texas campaign chairperson of the Socialist Workers party, announced the successful completion of the large petition drive.

Prominent civil liberties and political figures who had written to the secretary of state urging quick certification of the SWP petitions included Democratic State Representatives Micky Leland, Craig Washington, and

Ben Reyes; Democratic national convention delegate Gertrude Barnstone; attorney Ben Levy; and the secretary of the Houston Typographical Union, Herman Hughes.

Fein pointed out that while it had not been difficult to convince Texas voters to sign petitions to put the socialists on the ballot, state certification of the signatures could not be guaranteed.

In 1974 the SWP also submitted about twice the legally required number of petition signatures. But it took a court order to persuade the secretary of state to put the party on the ballot.

The socialist campaign news conference also singled out the role of the FBI.

FBI harassment

Agnes Chapa of the University of Texas Young Socialist Alliance released copies of previously secret FBI files that had just been forced into the open as a result of the national suit by

the SWP and YSA against government disruption.

The files documented FBI spying on the SWP campaign office in Austin.

Chapa also presented files containing reports by FBI agents, spies, and informers about meetings organized in Austin and San Antonio by the YSA, the SWP, the Chicano movement, and the antiwar movement.

The racism of the FBI gangsters was revealed in documents cited by Chapa. One report contained notes taken by an FBI spy on a talk given in San Antonio by SWP leader Mariana Hernández.

According to the spy, "Hernandez spoke regarding the Chicano, racism, lack of jobs for the Chicanos, and all the usual asinine injustices connected with the Chicano movement."

Chapa charged that these illegal spying operations could not take place without the active support of the authorities of the city of Austin, the University of Texas, and San Antonio College. She demanded that the ap-

propriate bodies release files documenting their illegal involvement.

The news conference also featured Pedro Vásquez, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate. Vásquez attacked the racist drive against Mexican workers in Texas.

One San Antonio daily newspaper has run headlines about an "alien invasion." Vásquez pointed out that not just the Mexican workers but all Chicanos are threatened by this attempt to whip up racist hysteria.

Vásquez promised to carry the demand to "Stop deportations" throughout the state.

Houston teacher and NAACP member Gene Lantz blasted the Supreme Court death-penalty decision. Lantz is the SWP congressional candidate from the Eighth District.

"The majority of people on death row in Texas are Blacks and Chicanos," Lantz said. Reporting a conversation with Warden Cousins of the state prison in Huntsville, Lantz said he asked the warden how many prisoners there were on death row.

"You want to know how many coloreds we got here on death row? Well, there's eighteen niggers," Warden Cousins replied.

Gas rate hike

SWP candidate Pat O'Reilly sided with those opposing gas rate hikes by the Lo-Vaca Gathering Company. Lo-Vaca supplies gas to the small towns in the Rio Grande valley and to San Antonio. It is doubling and tripling its rates.

Crystal City's La Raza Unida party is among those fighting the extortionate hikes. Even the Democratic administration of San Antonio is bending to massive outrage and challenging Lo-Vaca in court.

O'Reilly is seeking a post on the Texas Railroad Commission. This powerful body sets the rates for the oil and gas industries. It has national and international pull. It is well known that the incumbent commissioners and the other candidates for the commission represent the oil and gas trusts.

SWP place certified for ballots in Arizona

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—The Socialist Workers party has been certified for a place on the Arizona ballot. An assistant to the secretary of state said the party had submitted more than the 11,000 valid signatures required for a ballot place. Nearly double the required number were filed.

The Communist party was denied a ballot place. The secretary of state's office asserted that the Communist party had submitted only 4,900 valid signatures. A spokesperson for the CP national campaign said they were not yet certain of the total number they had filed in Arizona but were confident they had met the requirement and are considering filing suit.

Certification of the SWP represents an enormous victory for its hard-working campaigners. Arizona has a disproportionate number of conservatives. But there were enough students, Chicanos, women who support the Equal Rights Amendment, and others who were ready to sign the socialist petition.

The job was made particularly arduous by the desert heat. During the last half of the drive daily temperatures ranged around 110 degrees.

Rally opens Delaware petitioning

By Harvey McArthur

NEWARK, Del.—“I wasn’t sure why I came to this meeting, but I sure am glad I did. I never knew an organization like yours existed before—where have you been all this time?”

This was the response of one person who heard Willie Mae Reid speak at a Socialist Workers campaign rally held at the University of Delaware here July 6. The rally marked the start of a drive to get the socialist presidential candidates on the ballot in Delaware.

Many of the seventy people at the rally signed to find out more about the Socialist campaign and to petition to put Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid on the ballot. Several indicated they were interested in joining the Socialist Workers party.

People came from throughout Delaware and nearby Philadelphia and Baltimore. They included members of the National Organization for Women and the People’s Bicentennial Commission, and half a dozen Black high school students from the Upward Bound program in Newark.

The rally was chaired by Nels J’Anthony, chairperson of the Delaware Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. Also speaking was Clare Fraenzl, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Congress from Philadelphia’s First Congressional District. Fraenzl, an active member of NOW, explained the importance of further actions to demand the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment. She urged people to come to the August 26 demonstration for the ERA in Philadelphia.

“We are becoming part of history tonight,” Willie Mae Reid said. “We will start a drive here that will put the Socialist Workers campaign on the

ballot for the first time ever in Delaware.”

Jay Johnson, petitioning coordinator for the Delaware ballot drive, explained the effort needed to get on the ballot. “The Democrats and Republicans want to make it hard for anyone to challenge their misrule,” he said, “so they have just come up with a new law that makes it much harder for independent parties to get on the ballot. We will now have to get 1 percent of all registered voters to sign a petition to place us on the ballot, and we have hardly a month to get these 2,610 signatures.”

Johnson explained that there would be petitioning going on every day in cities and towns throughout Delaware. “We’ll be at shopping centers, on campus, at bus stops and on the beaches,” he said. “The socialist campaign is a real chance to challenge the DuPonts and the rest of the ruling rich. We may not get the DuPonts to sign our petitions, but we’re sure going to let them know that the socialists are here to stay.”

10,000 signatures collected in Indiana

By Ann Riley Owens

INDIANAPOLIS—Petitioning to gain ballot status in Indiana for SWP candidates Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid is continuing as supporters hit the streets of Indianapolis and Gary.

Support for the Camejo-Reid ticket and interest in the ideas of the Socialist Workers party are growing rapidly. Petitioners recently sold subscriptions to the *Militant* to petition signers who wanted to learn more about socialism. Many people have expressed interest in helping to petition.

While petitioning at the third Indiana “Black Expo Soul Picnic,” Camejo and Reid supporters picked up almost 500 signatures in four hours. As the afternoon went on, signature gathering became easier as the petitioning began to look like an official part of the picnic.

“We became part of the scene and people were coming to us to sign for Camejo and Reid,” said Billy Jones, an Indiana petitioner. “A photographer for the *Indianapolis Recorder*, Naptown’s Black weekly, asked to photograph us as a part of the day’s activities at the picnic.”

Campaigning has been a large part of the petitioning effort in Indiana. Supporters have distributed 1,000 “Struggle for Black Equality” brochures, 1,000 copies of the “Bill of Rights for Working People,” and 500 women’s brochures while collecting to this date 10,000 signatures.



WILLIE MAE REID

Militant/Joseph Ryan

225 Georgians launch drive to stop executions

By Al Budka

ATLANTA—William (Billy) Mitchell is Black. He is one of fifty-six prisoners on death row in Georgia. Four hours before Mitchell was tried for murder, he met his court-appointed lawyer for the first time. The white counsellor told him to plead guilty.

Mitchell’s trial lasted four minutes. The verdict—guilty. The sentence—death.

Billy Mitchell is typical of the prisoners on death row, said Bobby Hill, a Georgia state legislator, speaking to a meeting of 225 people in Atlanta, July 17. Fifty-four percent of the men in Georgia facing execution—under a law signed by former Gov. Jimmy Carter and upheld by the Supreme Court—are Black. Like Mitchell, Hill said, 79 percent of these prisoners couldn’t pay thirty-five dollars an hour for private lawyers.

This is also true in Texas, explained

Don Reid, an Associated Press reporter. The author of *Eye-witness: I Saw 189 Men Die in the Electric Chair* described the death penalty as a “social weapon” against racial minorities and the poor.

Reid said that only a handful of the 189 men whose executions he witnessed could pay the exorbitant costs of the appeals procedure.

Reid ripped into the racist application of the death penalty in Texas. Since the 1920s, 361 people have been executed: 229 of them were Black, 23 were Chicano, and one was a Native American.

Armed with this information, the activists at the day-long seminar discussed plans for a massive educational campaign. Their aim is to turn public opinion in Georgia and throughout the South against capital punishment.

Continued on page 30

‘Death penalty enforces racism in the U.S.’

[Below are excerpts from statements given to the *Militant* July 20 and 21 by opponents of the U.S. Supreme Court’s July 2 ruling reinstating the death penalty.]

We think it is very tragic indeed that the Supreme Court has found it necessary to uphold the death penalty, which is considered to be cruel and unusual punishment. We in SCLC find it to be very discriminatory punishment, for in most of the southern states in America the overwhelming majority of those on death row happen to be Black. Blacks make up at least 70 percent of the nation’s prison population.

I do not believe the death penalty is a deterrent to crime. I think that a person that is going to commit a crime is going to do so regardless. This only enforces and enhances segregation and racism in the United States.—Bernard Lee, executive vice-president, Southern Christian Leadership Conference

The NAACP’s policy is opposed to the death penalty. It is cruel and unusual punishment. The Supreme Court has now rejected the major constitutional arguments against the death penalty. Nevertheless, our policy remains the same for many reasons.

The most crucial and significant one being that the death penalty falls disproportionately upon Black defendants and that the rate of execution of Blacks has far exceeded the proportion of capital crimes committed by Black defendants.

Until this society is cured of its racism, until the legal system is perfected, this discriminatory pattern will probably remain for some time.

Moreover, we are just in principle opposed to putting people to death for crimes they commit on the basis of morality.—Michael Meyers, assistant director, NAACP

I would like to quote Dennis Banks [an American Indian Movement leader who is now fighting extradition to South Dakota]. He talked about Wounded Knee, and he said, “History may not record our names. But a thousand years from now someone may turn a page of history and shed a tear for Kent State, Attica, Chief Big Foot [Sioux Indian killed during the 1890 massacre at Wounded Knee], Buddy Lamont [gunned down by the government during the 1973 occupation of Wounded Knee], and recall an

era of the dark ages.”

And we believe very strongly that this death penalty is just an example of that—we are in the dark ages.—Vernon Bellecourt, national field director, American Indian Movement

I have many reasons for thinking that the Supreme Court decision on the death penalty is wrong. One is personal. I know that my parents were wrongly executed and most people today will agree that their execution was a mistake, an overreaction, even if they do not believe they were innocent. And I know that they would be alive today if there had been no death penalty.

I think that aside from the fact that the death penalty is put in use in an unequal manner—I cite the fact that a rich person has never been executed in this country—aside from its use primarily against poor and nonwhite people and the political use of the death penalty, I think that the death penalty requires a perfect system. When you have a death penalty there is no room for error. In other words, you are absolutely certain with the death penalty that sooner or later you’re going to execute somebody who’s innocent.

I don’t think the death penalty accomplishes any good purpose. I doubt that it acts as a deterrent. I think it is purely a matter of revenge and purely a matter of politics.—Robert Meeropol, son of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, framed on espionage charges and executed in 1953

I am shocked by and dismayed by such a decision in this decade. The Democratic Women’s Caucus position against the death penalty was one of the things that the National Women’s Political Caucus fought for and lost in the ’76 Democratic party platform hearings.—Gloria Steinem, editor, Ms. magazine

Obviously the death penalty is a racist attempt by the powers that be to plant fear of certain groups in society in the minds of the general population. It creates an atmosphere of hate. I don’t think the people who are calling for the death penalty really think the death penalty is going to deter crime. But I do think that it will create that law-and-order image that they want.—Jerry Paul, defense attorney for Joanne Little

Retreat from 1970 ruling

L.A. desegregation set back by Calif. court

By Arnold Weissberg

LOS ANGELES—The California Supreme Court ruled on June 28 that the Los Angeles schools were illegally segregated, and held the city board of education responsible.

The high court found that the school board had failed to undertake "any efforts to attempt to alleviate segregation." Under California law, the board was required to take positive steps to end school segregation.

However, the high court refused to order a desegregation plan for the district. Instead, the issue was tossed back to a local court, which was mandated to come up with a "reasonably feasible" plan to desegregate the schools.

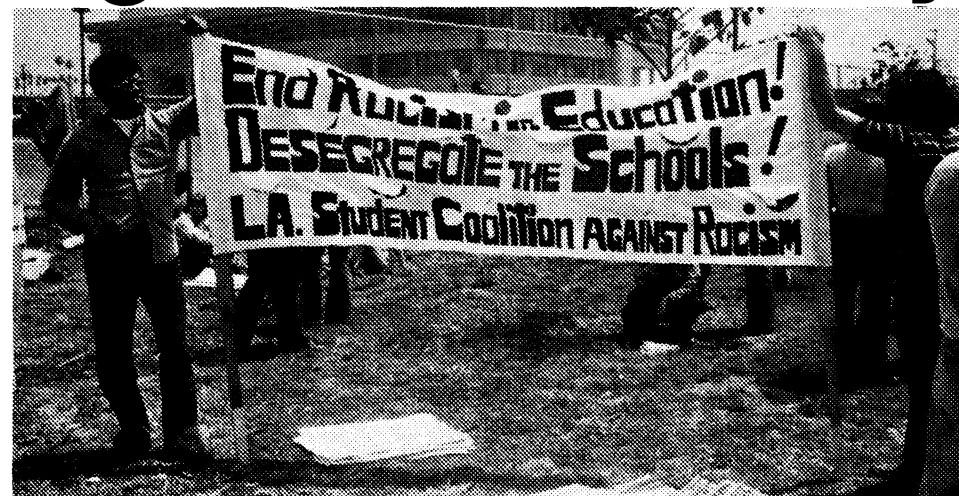
The court's reluctance to act decisively must be seen as the result of the racist antibusing offensive that has been carried out around the country. The attack on equal education for Blacks has been abetted by virtually every Democratic and Republican politician, beginning with President Ford.

The court's vague "reasonably feasible" formula is in sharp contrast to a 1970 decision by Judge Alfred Gitelson. The Gitelson decision found that the Los Angeles schools were segregated and ordered that every school must be racially balanced in proportion to the population as a whole.

Gitelson came under heavy racist fire. The school board appealed his decision and won the appeal. But the plaintiffs in the case contested that decision to the California Supreme Court.

Although the high court agreed that the schools were illegally segregated, it declared that each school within the sprawling Los Angeles district did not have to meet Gitelson's standard of racial balance.

The court said that a plan that left "a particular minority group completely unrepresented in a particular



Militant/Harry Ring

Outcome of school desegregation struggle will be decided by which side mobilizes its forces most effectively.

school" might be constitutional.

However, as *Los Angeles Times* education writer Jack McCurdy commented, it was not clear how the all-Black and all-Chicano schools could be desegregated without also desegregating the all-white schools.

Finding a "reasonably feasible" desegregation plan may take years. As the case stands now, no district-wide plan could possibly be implemented before September 1977, even if the next round of hearings were to begin at once.

The California court declared that school boards, operating as part of the government, "cannot escape constitutional responsibility for the segregated control of the public schools," regardless of the cause. The board had argued that it was not responsible for segregation, which, it claimed, was caused by housing patterns around the city.

In its defense, the board had offered the incredible argument that the education of minority children was equal to that of whites even though it was segregated. This claim is identical to

the "separate but equal" doctrine used for years to justify the total segregation system in the South.

"Separate but equal" education was struck down by the U.S. Supreme Court in the famous *Brown v. Board of Education* decision of 1954.

The Los Angeles school board's use of this argument in 1976 shows the depth of its opposition to equal education for Blacks and Chicanos.

The board's own figures tell the story. Of the district's 564 schools, 292 have a minority enrollment of over 50 percent, and 204 over 75 percent. There are 180 schools that are more than 75 percent white, and there are 157 schools with minority enrollment over 97 percent.

The board has taken only token action to put an end to this shameful situation.

"Liberal" board member Howard Miller, whose appointment was championed by many Black leaders, pushed through a resolution in March declaring the board's opposition to "forced" busing.

This capitulation to the racists was

vigorously opposed by the Black community. Ten days later the board rescinded the action. The board passed a substitute resolution calling for reliance on "voluntary" means of desegregation.

Despite its limitations, the court decision was greeted favorably by Black leaders, who indicated they thought it would pressure the board into acting on desegregation.

Newly elected school board President Dr. Julian Nava expressed relief that the court didn't call for "drastic action" on desegregation. Nava, who is considered "prodesegregation," explained that by "drastic action" he meant busing.

Omari Musa, Socialist Workers party candidate for U.S. Senate, attacked the court's failure to require immediate, effective desegregation action. "This will mean more stalling by the board, and more years of segregated, second-rate education for Black and Chicano schoolchildren," Musa asserted. "If the court really thinks the district is segregated, it should immediately order the school board to desegregate by any means necessary, including busing."

Although the final outcome of the case may still be years away, the latest decision makes clear that supporters of school desegregation can't rely on the courts or the "prodesegregation" Los Angeles school board for a favorable ruling.

The outcome of the struggle for school desegregation will be decided by which side mobilizes its forces most effectively. The school board has already shown its willingness to capitulate to racist pressure. But the Black community has shown it too can swing some weight.

A massive public mobilization by the Black community and its allies is needed now to ensure that school segregation in Los Angeles is ended once and for all.

N.C. sanitation workers

Strikers fired for asking 3.5% wage hike

By Jim Rogers

RALEIGH, N.C.—Sanitation workers here struck July 7 after city officials refused to even meet with them to discuss their demand for a modest wage increase. The strike was approved by a vote of 156 to 18.

The city threatened to fire anyone who didn't return to work within two days. One hundred fifty-seven workers stayed out past the deadline and have been fired.

"There wasn't no other way to vote but strike," said Stephen Richardson, one of the strikers. "It appears to me to be the only way to get more money; we've been talking for three months and haven't gotten anywhere that way."

A sanitation laborer's starting pay is \$117.92 a week. The maximum is \$150.69. The federal Labor Department estimates that for a minimal standard of living, a family of four in this area needs at least \$178 a week.

The union initially demanded a 21 percent wage increase. By the time of the strike this had been lowered to only 3.5 percent—\$3.50 to \$4.50 a week for most strikers. Police were recently granted a 3.5 percent increase after calling in sick and enforcing minor laws more often than usual. The fire fighters' union has staged a one-day sick-out for the same demand.

"Four dollars ain't nothing," said fifty-year-old John Wiggins. "That's not what this strike is all about. We

ought to be striking for 21 percent like we asked for in the beginning. But if we back down now, they're never going to listen to us again."

Wiggins scoffed at the city's claim to be broke. "Everybody knows they have the money," he said. "If they don't have the money, how in the world are they paying all those policemen to guard the trucks. That's not the problem. The problem is they won't recognize us."

Wiggins's son, John Wiggins, Jr., is the central leader of the strike. Pointing out that nearly all the strikers are Black, he said, "We have a big discrimination issue. What do [Mayor Jyles] Coggins and [City Manager Lawrence] Zachary know about having to feed a family on \$118 a week?"

The sanitation workers' struggle has won the support of prominent Black leaders here, including representatives of the Raleigh Ministerial Alliance, North Carolina-Virginia Commission on Racial Justice, the Raleigh-Wake Citizens Alliance, and the Raleigh-Apex chapter of the NAACP.

Mayor Coggins has tried to blame the strike on outsiders. "If you will analyze it," he says, "over half of the sanitation workers are from out of town. It seems to be rather paradoxical to me that they drive forty miles to work in the city and then they threaten obstruction."

Sanitation worker Stephen Richardson responded, "There ain't much work



Sanitation workers walk off the job July 7

where I live so I came here to work. If they could have gotten people in town to do the work, they would have; they needed us."

Public sentiment in Raleigh appears to be with the strikers. One man interviewed by the *Raleigh Times* said, "These poor folks deserve all they can get. I don't think the city should run roughshod over them when all they're doing is peaceful picketing."

The strikers are not affiliated to any international union. They raised some money before the strike, but not enough to last more than a few days. They are determined to hold out anyway.

After a week the strike remains solid. The city has hired scabs but strikers say officials are lying about how much trash is being collected.

Busing: where the unions stand

By Malik Miah

Boston's embattled Black community won a victory June 14 when the U.S. Supreme Court refused to review the busing plan ordered to achieve school desegregation in that city.

The court's ruling, however, has by no means ended the debate within the ruling class over whether busing should be limited or overturned.

President Ford's June 24 proposal for new legislation aimed at restricting the power of the courts to order busing shows that attacks on desegregation can be expected to continue.

One key factor the ruling class is weighing in this debate over how rapidly they can press ahead is the power and scope of the countermobilization mustered by opponents of their racist drive.



March on Washington, 1963. In 1960s labor was forced to support the struggle for Black equality by powerful civil rights movement.

So far the Black leadership has failed to organize an effective countermovement. This leadership's strategy of relying on the twin parties of racism—the Democrats and Republicans—to solve the social and economic problems facing Blacks has proven impotent.

But the racist drive against busing is not directed against Blacks alone. It is only the cutting edge of a broader government offensive aimed at rolling back the rights and living standards of all working people.

The Black community should not have to stand up to the antibusing drive alone. The union movement has a vital stake in the outcome of this fight. A defeat for school desegregation in Boston and other cities would be a serious blow to the Black movement and the labor movement. A racist victory would embolden not only anti-Black, but also antilabor forces nationwide.

The labor movement is potentially the most powerful social force in this country. But where does the labor movement stand today on this important fight?

AFL-CIO on busing

Let's look at organized labor's position on busing.

The largest union federation in the country, the AFL-CIO, has a strong probusing position. At its 1975 national convention in San Francisco, the federation reaffirmed this stand against opposition from some racist Kentucky unionists.

The AFL-CIO resolution on busing states:

"1. We wholeheartedly support bus-

ing of children when it will improve the educational opportunities of the children.

"2. We deplore the actions of those individuals or groups who are creating a divisive political issue out of America's vital need for quality, integrated education.

"3. We will oppose the Constitutional amendment approach because it will do a disservice to the quality, integrated education which we support."

In the two years that busing has been going on in Boston, AFL-CIO President George Meany has on several occasions spoken out for busing.

This official stand, however, is not universally supported by the AFL-CIO's state federations and other unions.

For example, at its November 7,

at odds with Meany. (Shanker is a member of the AFL-CIO Executive Council.)

The new position flows from Shanker's strategy of trying to maintain the AFT as a white job trust. That explains why he opposes Black and Puerto Rican control of the schools in New York. It is also why he did not oppose the unsuccessful BTU appeal of a 1974 court order that forces Boston's school system to hire Black teachers on a one-to-one basis until the percentage of Black teachers reaches that of Black students.

In contrast to the AFT, the National Education Association supports busing. NEA leaders have attended probusing activities in Boston and encouraged their members to attend the most recent conference of the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR).

The strongest backers of busing in the labor movement are the Black unionists. For example, the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists and A. Philip Randolph Institute support busing. The president of the Metro Council of the Detroit AFL-CIO, Tom Turner, has spoken at probusing events in Boston and Detroit.

In Boston Rexford Weng, a vice-president of the Massachusetts AFL-CIO, has supported several probusing demonstrations. And recently the Black caucus of the BTU came out in support of busing and backed the April 24 probusing march that later was postponed.

In general, however, the probusing unions have not actively supported demonstrations or protests. They have not used their authority to place pressure on the government to enforce the law. The national AFL-CIO for sure has not used its money and potential power in this way.

One reason the April 24 probusing march on Boston had to be canceled was that organizations such as the AFL-CIO, NEA, and CBTU did not throw their forces behind the march. If they had done so, the threats of violence days prior to the march could have been overcome. Thousands of Black and white workers planning to march for Black rights could have forced city and federal authorities to protect the demonstration.

Union officials' strategy

What's behind this default in leadership by the labor movement? Why have the unions who back busing not used their potential power to break the back of the antibusing movement and

force the government to enforce the law of the land?

The answer lies with the union officials' reliance on the Democratic party and the government to defend the democratic rights and living standard of working people. This policy of class collaboration means that union officials oppose the independent mobilization of working people to defend themselves from capitalist attacks. Even when strikes or demonstrations are called by the unions—as has occurred in New York City, San Francisco, and elsewhere—they are conducted within the self-defeating limits imposed by collaboration with the capitalist parties.

This dead-end policy of the labor misleaders has made it much easier for the government to whip up racism among white workers. In Boston, for example, white construction workers forged a racist alliance with antibusing bigots in an attempt to prevent Black construction workers from getting more jobs.

Which way forward?

The big question facing the labor movement today as far as Blacks are concerned is: Will the unions take a broader view of their interests and actively defend the most oppressed sector of the working class against racist attacks? Or will the unions continue to backslide in the defense of Black rights in the mistaken hope that they can benefit from the ruling-class strategy of racial oppression?

The record of the labor movement over the past thirty years has not been a very good one.

One reason the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s arose outside the unions was that the unions refused to defend the rights of Blacks. The civil rights movement was based on an independent Black movement rooted in the Black community. Some unions gave verbal support to the struggle, like today, but did very little.

Today the social, economic, and political problems confronting the Black community require an even more powerful movement. The unions can and should help in the construction of such a mass movement in defense of desegregation.

Defense of Black rights—on and off the job—should be a top priority for the unions. A default by the unions on this question will weaken the fight to defend busing. It will also cripple the ability of the unions to defend themselves from the broader capitalist offensive now underway against all working people.



Militant/Ed Mattos
Racist unionists organized this antibusing march on Washington last October. Attempts by some misleaders to maintain unions as white job trusts undercut the strong defense labor movement needs today.

In Our Opinion

S. African protests

On July 20 at least one Black man was killed by South African police in the coal-mining center of Witbank. According to the *New York Times*, Witbank "was in the grip of the most serious rioting since the widespread anti-Government upheavals last month."

"The possibility of a chain reaction was raised by a police report of at least one outbreak" in Khutsong, a Black township near the mining town of Carletonville.

In their fear of renewed student demonstrations, authorities indefinitely postponed the slated July 20 reopening of secondary schools for Blacks in Soweto Township and other areas that were the scene of June 16 mobilizations against the forced use of the Afrikaans language.

On July 18, police used tear gas to break up Black student protests at the University of Fort Hare against government repression of the June 16 mobilizations. Fort Hare, along with South Africa's two other Black universities, has now been indefinitely closed.

These demonstrations and protests are occurring in the face of a government announcement July 16 of wholesale restrictions on democratic rights.

These new "security measures" permit "preventive detention" for one year without recourse to legal counsel, court hearing, or bail. They also ban all open-air meetings for the next month. The measures were accompanied by a massive show of government force.

Already Jairus Kgokong, a prominent member of the South African Students Organisation, has been arrested in the roundups; along with militants of the South African Students' Movement and the Black People's Convention.

These events show that despite its decision (see news story, page 19) to end the compulsory use of Afrikaans in Black schools, the white minority regime believes that a policy of repression—not concessions—is now necessary to preserve its rule in the face of growing protests.

This underscores the need for stepped-up international solidarity in defense of all those struggling against apartheid.

'Ethnic purity' riot

On July 17 thousands of racists in the all-white Marquette Park section of Chicago attacked 200 Blacks trying to stage a march for open housing. More than 60 marchers were injured by the mob as Chicago police stood by, refusing to halt the barrage of bricks, bottles, and stones. (See news bulletin on page 2.)

The marchers were demanding that Blacks be allowed to live in any neighborhood and enjoy equal access to public facilities. This is an elementary democratic right, guaranteed by the U.S. Constitution. So is the right to peacefully assemble and demonstrate. But racist forces in Chicago, confident they will not be curbed by city authorities, are determined to quash these rights.

The July 17 assault was the latest in an escalating series of anti-Black attacks, especially in the Marquette Park area. Last month a Nazi-organized "white power" rally there was followed by a rock-throwing rampage against Blacks who happened to be driving nearby.

The mob attack came just as the Democratic party was winding up its orgy of unity behind Jimmy Carter, portraying this wealthy businessman as a representative of working people, the poor, Blacks, and women. But the Democratic candidate has not said one word to protest the anti-Black violence.

He has not spoken out for the right of Blacks to hold a peaceful march.

He has not defended the right of Blacks to live in Marquette Park or wherever they choose.

On the contrary, the Chicago mob was showing in action what "ethnic purity" is all about.

Chicago's "Boss" Daley happens to be a key supporter of Carter, instrumental in securing the nomination for him. Daley has sought to prevent the open-housing marches from taking place. He bears full responsibility for the cops' refusal to protect the safety of Blacks. And his own persistent efforts to resist desegregation of the city's schools and work force have encouraged the bigots.

The attacks in Chicago, like the antibusing violence in Boston, are part of a nationwide offensive against Black rights—in education, housing, jobs, and every sphere of life.

The ominous upsurge of violence in Chicago ought to be protested by all supporters of civil liberties and Black equality.

Letters

'Militant' discovered on job

I discovered the *Militant* through my job as a postal worker. A former subscriber moved and left no forwarding address. According to postal procedures, the address label was to be clipped and mailed to the publisher to notify the mailer that the paper was undelivered.

While involved in this process, I couldn't help but notice the content, and was I impressed. Your analysis of the world economic crisis as well as the domestic political scene was right on.

As an admirer of the historical personage of Eugene V. Debs, I had considered myself to be a socialist of the heart. Was I ever pleased at long last to find a socialist paper that really had its head together.

It's now been a year since I subscribed. To the writers, editors, and publishers of the *Militant*, I can only say that you are beautiful people. Keep up the good work—please renew my subscription.

Stan Phipps
Spokane, Washington

satisfactory. The paper should consist of news of actual on-the-job struggles conducted by Socialist Workers party members—similar to the way *Challenge* is. Then we could see how your line holds up in practice.

J.C.
Charlotte, Vermont

Inspirational

I find the *Militant* is one of the few papers in this country free in its reporting and no strings attached by the government's yoke on the news media as a whole.

I find the *Militant* inspirational whereby it gives one hope to seek a change in this society like never before since the colonies broke away from George. I became interested in the international struggle during the era of Malcolm X.

A prisoner
Ohio

Farah's hiring policy

I was very interested to read in Harry Ring's article that Farah now uses "mexicanos bused" from Mexico in his textile plant in El Paso, Texas.

It would appear to me that Willie Farah "learned" something from the strike that he lost. I'd like to refer you to the August 1974 *Fortune* magazine:

"... A 'Buy American' policy prevails in Farah's personal and business dealings. Several years ago, when he was having a new house built for his family, he specified in the construction contract that no foreign materials were to be used in it.

"And a tennis partner recalls a terrible row when he once showed up innocently equipped with a can of balls manufactured in England."

This led Willie to have an anti-Mexican-nationals hiring policy:

"Willie made it a policy for many years to hire only American citizens. Some 95 percent of Farah's employees have Spanish surnames; there is obviously no question of discrimination against Mexican-Americans.

"But Farah was hit by a suit several years ago charging that the company discriminated against Mexican nationals. Willie fought the charge, arguing that the law did not prohibit discrimination based on citizenship. Last fall, the Supreme Court ruled in the company's favor."

Two years ago, Farah did not hire Mexicans. Today he busses them in. Has he learned that it is inherently "American" to use Mexicans in wage disputes?

M.H.
East Los Angeles, California

[Editor's note—It's true that Willie Farah is a big advocate of "Buy American" and makes a practice of hiring only U.S. citizens.

[However, he does bus workers from Juárez. He is able to do so without violating his "patriotic" creed because a number of *mexicanos* in Juárez happen to be American citizens, either born or naturalized in the United States.

[They prefer for a variety of reasons to live in Mexico. According to a Farah union representative, about 200 such workers are employed by Farah.]

Not satisfactory

I'd like to cancel my subscription. On the one hand, it's because I'll be moving too often in the next year.

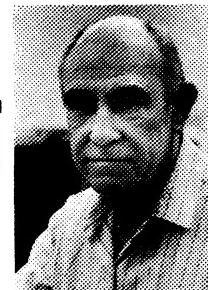
On the other, I don't find your paper

Sales to co-workers

I am a porter at St. Michael's Medical Center in Newark and a member of District 1199. Along with two other *Militant* readers in the

National Picket Line

Frank Lovell



Hard to get excited

[The following guest column is by Lee Oleson, a member of Newspaper Guild Local 35 in Washington, D.C.]

Why don't Newspaper Guild members care more about national politics?

Guild rank-and-filers have responded with a massive display of indifference to the union's plea for contributions to pay for "escalated" political activity. According to the *Guild Reporter*, the union's official publication, only forty dollars had been collected by the end of May in response to a February fund appeal for the fall elections.

At the guild's national convention last month the International Executive Board issued ringing denunciations of Republicans Gerald Ford and Ronald Reagan, but offered not a word of criticism of the Democratic candidates.

This helps to explain the lack of enthusiasm among rank-and-filers. Not one Democratic contender supported the guild and other unions during the unsuccessful strike last winter by press operators at the *Washington Post*.

Even Fred Harris—the most "left" of the Democratic hopefuls—steered clear of the picket lines when he was in Washington. In contrast, Ed Heisler, cochairperson of the Socialist Workers 1976 National Campaign Committee, joined *Post* workers on their picket lines.

And why dig into your pocket to help Jimmy Carter? In the primaries, he was outdone only by George

Wallace in hostility toward the labor movement. As governor of Georgia, Carter championed the "open shop." That state's so-called right-to-work law has made it a haven for corporations on the lookout for low-paid, nonunionized labor.

United Auto Workers President Leonard Woodcock was an early Carter backer. Woodcock says Carter will "put America back to work."

It is true that Carter has endorsed the Humphrey-Hawkins "full employment" legislation now in Congress. But this bill would not "put America back to work." It wouldn't really create any jobs; it simply promises to try to lower unemployment to 3 percent by 1980.

Carter's solution to the job problem is to spend more money in the "private sector." As a businessman himself, Carter shares the view of others of his calling: don't spend government money to create useful jobs for the jobless. Instead, siphon public funds into the "private sector," where only a fraction of them—if that—will trickle down to working people.

The guild's International Executive Board has authorized a \$2,000 contribution to the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education. It's a safe bet that COPE's coffer will be put to work campaigning for Democrats like Jimmy Carter.

No wonder the guild's rank and file have balked. It's like paying someone to steal from you. And it's just hard to get excited about that.

Women in Revolt

Cindy Jaquith



'Pressuring' Democrats

"We are now a pressure group on the inside that has to be dealt with, instead of a few people demonstrating on the outside."—Gloria Steinem, at the National Women's Political Caucus benefit on the eve of the 1976 Democratic convention.

If you watched the Democratic party convention, and then read the above statement by Gloria Steinem, you'd probably say to yourself: she must be kidding.

It was bad enough at the 1972 Democratic convention. Women delegates watched George McGovern sell their right to abortion down the river. Having a pro-abortion plank in his platform would hurt his chances of getting elected, McGovern backers explained.

Now the right to abortion is the law of the land. So the Democrats have been forced to include in their 1976 platform a plank opposing a constitutional amendment against abortion. But the Democratic candidate for president makes no pretense of where he stands. Jimmy Carter says it flat out. He's against women's right to choose.

During the primaries, Carter waffled back and forth. If the audience was pro-abortion, he'd stress that his views on the question were strictly "personal." If the crowd was made up of "right-to-lifers," he'd devise a mealy-mouthed formula like the one he used in Iowa. There he called for "a national statute" that would "restrict the practice of abortion in our country."

Just how little the scrap of paper containing the Democratic platform is worth was indicated when Carter sent a message to the Missouri delegation during the convention. According to syndicated columnists Evans and Novak, he made "an astounding—and dangerous—concession: a flat promise to attempt limiting all federal funds for abortions."

Carter's message said he would "restrict, insofar as possible," federal funds for such things as abortion clinics and Medicaid—a real threat to the future of thousands of women dependent on the government to obtain abortions.

While promises were made to delegations in back-rooms, the issue of abortion was never discussed on the floor of the convention. Nor was child care, equal pay, or discriminatory layoffs. No issues were discussed there.

The pressure groups of women, Blacks, Chicanos, and other oppressed groups were indeed "dealt with"—but on the terms of the big-business interests that control the party.

Leaders of the National Women's Political Caucus, National Organization for Women, and Democratic women officeholders did protest the small number of female delegates this year. But a compromise offered by Carter—that the Democrats would let, maybe, a few more women be delegates by 1980—settled the matter.

By the time the convention opened, "the pressure group on the inside" had melted into a sea of straw hats and Carter buttons.

Steinem's view that by "being on the inside" women can be more effective than "demonstrating on the outside" was shot full of holes at this convention.

Demonstrating, and building a movement of women that is independent of the Democrats and Republicans, is an effective way to challenge their attacks on our rights.

Demonstrations like the May 16 march for the Equal Rights Amendment in Illinois did more to advance the fight for equal rights than four years of "pressure groups" inside the Democratic party. After all, the ERA has been a "priority" in the Democratic platform since 1972—such a priority that Democratic state legislators, along with their Republican accomplices, have sabotaged the amendment repeatedly.

These politicians understand one thing only: power. Our job as feminists is to organize a mass pro-ERA movement that can confront those legislators with a power they do not control. We belong in the streets, not inside the Democratic and Republican conventions, picking up crumbs thrown us by the male party bosses.

That's not to say that women shouldn't participate in the elections. There is one party in this campaign that does support the independent struggle of women—the Socialist Workers party, which is running Peter Camejo for president and Willie Mae Reid for vice-president. These are candidates all feminists can feel proud to vote for, knowing that in doing so they are building both the women's liberation and the socialist movements in this country.

hospital, I have been selling subscriptions to some of my co-workers. We sort of set a goal to sell fifteen subscriptions to the *Militant* by the time of the Socialist Workers party convention this August.

Because of the *Militant*'s excellent coverage of the struggles of hospital workers and other working people, our minisubscription goal is going great! So far, in about a month, nine people have bought subscriptions.

The recent article about the New York hospital workers' strike [*Militant*, July 23] will no doubt be something 119ers won't want to miss. Keep up the good coverage and we'll be sure to surpass our expectations.

Jim Kendrick
Newark, New Jersey

'Hurricane' Carter

The *New York Times*, no doubt with pleasure, ran a front-page article Sunday, June 20, on Rubin "Hurricane" Carter and the divisions within his defense committee.

I have some personal thoughts on that which I want to share with *Militant* readers, many of whom have been his supporters.

The article asserts that the defense spent lavish amounts on the entertainers who performed free at fund-raising concerts at Madison Square Garden and the Astrodome. True enough. But the two concerts created much support for Carter. Moreover, they netted, the article states, \$104,000.

That Carter was obliged to spend thousands on these events says more about show-biz values than about Carter personally.

A second charge is that there was dissension among defense committee members. So what? Good people had different ideas on how best to defend the victim of a racist frame-up. That some people in the defense committee overly emphasized and relied on advertising techniques and the mass media, was, in my opinion, a mistake.

The last charge is terribly serious: that Carter's personal relationship with his female defense committee head degenerated to blackmail and violence.

The woman is Carolyn Kelley, who was once a spirited and committed defender of Carter, if not, as the article suggests, a very effective one.

That their relationship ended with Kelley checking into a hospital and calling a press conference to denounce Carter as her assailant is pathetic, tragic, and—it must be said—a demoralizing blow to the movement, whose good will and trust has been abused.

Whatever the truth of Kelley's charges, the single most important fact remains: The state of New Jersey, probably with national secret political police help, framed up an innocent man on a triple-murder charge when his real "crime" was speaking out in defense of the human rights of Black people.

Carter has a new trial coming up in the fall. And it is his right to receive a fair one this time.

Michael Smith
New York, New York

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

The Great Society

Harry Ring



Of profits and pollution—As a sideline, John Bramblett, a pollution engineer, offers Vermont tourists cans labeled "Vermont Green Mountain Air." Only \$2.00. Vermont officials have received fraud complaints, apparently because the canning operation takes place in Massachusetts.

Capitalist realism—The adventures of Fanne Foxe with Rep. Wilbur Mills have led to a \$1 million movie offer, her press agent says. To give the story of her life a note of realism, he said, Mills would be asked to play himself. Which is a pretty hard act to follow.

Spirit of '76—The Seychelles, a cluster of islands in the Indian Ocean, achieved independence from Britain June 29. Included among commemora-



'Few people have the emotional strength necessary to cope with this new era of narrowing horizons and steadily lower living standards. I have that strength, Vicki, and I want to share it with you.'

tive actions was a *New York Times* ad offering investors limited editions of recently minted gold and silver coins. The ad declared, "The only nation to become independent in 1976 Bicentennial Year."

No respect—A Chicago mail-order house offers two virtually identical platform shoes with the slogan: "Our platform for '76—freedom to choose the heel you prefer."

Stoned—"BATON ROUGE—The Senate, apparently in a mood for horseplay before the upcoming showdown on right-to-work, has voted to designate petrified palmwood as the official state fossil. Amid general hilarity, the Senate spent a rollicking hour debating the bill. . . ."—The New Orleans *States-Item*.

A rich brew—If your decaffeinated coffee seems to lack zip lately, it may be because they've stopped adding trichloroethylene, a chemical that causes liver cancer in mice. The National Cancer Institute warned, however, that substitutes now being considered for the withdrawn chemical may be even more dangerous.

Oh well, it's only food—Crop loss from smog was estimated at \$2.1 million in Los Angeles County in 1975, an increase of 2.3 percent over 1974.

A matter of style—The Vatican said it is studying the question of ordination of women as priests but emphasized that this did not mean the policy of exclusion was to be ended. The goal of the study is simply to find a new way to state the policy.

By Any Means Necessary

Rumblings and grumblings

The Democratic convention wasn't over a day and the I-told-you-so brigade was out in force. "Those Black Democrats didn't make good on their promise, they didn't do this, they didn't do that, I told you so," the brigade was fussing.

They charged that Back Democrats had pulled a Harry Houdini act and gotten out of their promise at their April Black Democratic caucus meeting in Charlotte, North Carolina, to "or else" unless the Democratic party adopted the proposals they'd drawn up to try to meet the needs of Blacks.

Ingrates. Knuckleheads. They don't know the first thing about politics and here they are complaining about Black Democratic leaders that the papers say have put down the pea shooter and taken up the peace pipe with the peanut man.

Surely they don't think the problems of the Black community are so pressing that Black Democrats would actually do "or else" if the Democratic party didn't adopt solutions to remedy them.

So what if Jimmy has promised Black Democrats no more than what Ford has already done: appoint

Blacks as assistants, and put a Black face in the cabinet as well as a woman. Those are the rules of the Democratic marriage—some give, some take, yours to have and to hold in sickness and health.

But there are others outside of the I-told-you-so brigade who are not happy with Jimmy.

Julian Bond pays no-never-mind to Jimmy's being taken away by the spirit at a Black Baptist church, or his ability to get down with fried chicken, because to him he is still a dragon and a liar. Shirley Chisholm refers to him as "blue-eyed Jimmy," and other prominent Blacks call him a "cracker" and a "red-neck."

"I assume he'll be like most other white politicians, use the Black vote and not pay off in the end," said California State Assembly member Willie Brown.

Bond says that Jimmy's appointments will go "to middle-class Blacks. But what about the masses? I'm more concerned with his position on welfare and aid to the cities. It's sad that many Blacks will be satisfied with the number of positions rather

Baxter Smith



than substantive legislation that affects poor Blacks."

Some are critical of the way many prominent Blacks have gathered from hither and yon to Jimmy's banner—uncritical of his poor position on Black issues—in monkey-see, monkey-do fashion.

"He will do a lot of things that will be cosmetic," said Vernon Jordan of the National Urban League. ". . . For example, he may find it difficult to go all the way for Humphrey-Hawkins ['full-employment' bill in Congress], but I think [it] may go down easier with the brothers if he's just come from praying at Walter Fauntroy's church in Washington."

Some Blacks believe Jimmy will be vindictive and seek revenge against the last Black holdouts.

Brown says, "He'll be very vindictive."

Bond says, "I hope not."

"I hope so," says Detroit Mayor Coleman Young, a big Carter backer.

Of course, the snooty brigade are chuckling among themselves and using all this as one more excuse to say, "I told you so."

Their Government

A taxing situation

WASHINGTON—Sen. Russell Long (D-La.) has been fond of saying during the current congressional tax debate that one man's reform is another's legitimate deduction. And events have proven how complicated these tax laws can be.

In June a *New York Times* reporter revealed that the tax bill Long's Senate Finance Committee recently approved contains a couple of provisions that would net Long's oil-trust relatives hundreds of thousands of dollars each year.

Shocked, but no doubt appreciative that such a conflict of interest had been pointed out, Long responded, "No one could have known that the amendment might have benefited my children or other relatives."

Perhaps to better familiarize himself with this tax "reform" that all the tax reformers are complaining about, Long has now taken the unprecedented step of sending it back to committee for more consideration. Meanwhile, the full Senate has already begun debate on the bill.

In 1974, 244 people with incomes of more than \$200,000 paid no federal income tax. Not one penny.

The nineteen biggest oil companies paid a mere 7.6 percent tax on their \$32 billion income.

This, of course, seems outrageous to the majority of American people, who—without access to fancy lawyers and tax shelters—turn over great chunks of our incomes to Uncle Sam every year.

About a year ago the liberals in Congress thought it a good time to dredge up another tax reform bill—to let the taxpayers back home know they aren't forgotten. By the time it got through Long's committee, however, it could not longer be considered a reform.

Having had no opportunity since 1972 to legislate tax breaks for "special" constituents, the senators seized the time. The bill now contains some forty special-interest tax-break provisions.

"They amount to \$5 billion a year in giveaways," Bill Pietz, from the Tax Reform Research Group, told me. If all the provisions pass, the overall legislation will be tilted in favor of the rich even more than the current laws.

So far the Senate debate has concentrated on parts of the bill still considered to be reforms of

Nancy Cole



sorts. Even minimal efforts to strengthen these sections have met with defeat.

For example, tax breaks for corporations exporting goods mean a loss of \$1.5 billion in revenues a year, says Sen. Floyd Haskell (D-Colo.). Called DISC (Domestic International Sales Corporations), this giveaway scheme is "nothing more than a direct subsidy to our major corporations who would be selling overseas in any event," argued Haskell in proposing its abolition. His amendment lost, seventy-two to sixteen.

Even a proposal to rescind DISC benefits solely for arms sales abroad provoked heated opposition:

"Change this law," threatened Sen. John Pastore (D-R.I.), "and we close down our shops, we close down our factories, and throw people out of work."

"If that is what you want to do tonight, then kill the goose that laid the golden egg!"

Only thing is, Pastore's got the story mixed up. The profit-hungry war industries don't lay the golden eggs—they steal them from the American working people. And Congress is there to see that it continues.

THE UFW AND THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY

Why it was wrong to support Tom Hayden

By Harry Ring

(Second of two articles)

LOS ANGELES—In the previous article we discussed the support given to California's Gov. Edmund Brown by the United Farm Workers and why we thought it was a mistake. In this article we will discuss the UFW's support to Tom Hayden in his bid for the Democratic senatorial nomination, and why we think that was a mistake.

On the basis of his record in office, some people are now recognizing that maybe Jerry Brown isn't quite as great as they thought. But, some will argue, Tom Hayden is *really* different—the UFW was right in supporting him.

The United Farm Workers certainly made an all-out effort for Hayden. In the last days before the June 8 primary, UFW members and staff people were mobilized up and down the state campaigning for him. At the ramps to all the major Los Angeles freeways, the familiar UFW human billboards were back. But this time the farm workers held signs with a new message: "Vote for Hayden."

In my view, that energy would have been far better expended in building the boycott of scab produce and Gallo wine, or familiarizing the voters with Proposition 14, the UFW's farm labor initiative that will be on the November ballot.

Is Tom Hayden really all that "different"? I don't think so.

Even in the student movement of the 1960s he was one of the SDSers who called for voting for Lyndon Johnson.

A 'practical' radical?

To movement people, Hayden confides that he's still a radical. The main difference between him and other radicals, he says, is that he's more "practical." He's tired of losing.

But what Hayden offers is really the most impractical idea in the world—impractical, that is, for those who want to advance the cause of the farm workers and other movements for social justice.

People have been trying to "reform" the Democratic party ever since it was established. Nobody has beaten the house yet. People who tried working in the Democratic party either realized what they were up against and gave up—or they decided to relax and enjoy being co-opted.

Tom Hayden is in the latter category.

Throughout his campaign, as his prospects for a big vote became more apparent, he steadily toned down his political views. As the media correctly recognized, the last period of his campaign was devoted to "erasing" his radical image.

But, it might be conjectured, Hayden was only trying to get enough votes to get elected. Once in office he'd really do his thing for the cause.

That's awfully weak logic. If you have to water down your views to get elected as a Democrat, then what do you have to do to stay elected? Just as he had to tailor his campaign to satisfy elements in the Democratic machine that he really was OK—and that's what the watering-down is about—so in office he would have to continue to prove he's one of the club. Otherwise, he might get dumped.

When Tom Hayden announced he was challenging Sen. John Tunney, he declared he was not simply one more aspiring office seeker. He said he favored fundamental social change and saw his campaign as a vehicle for advancing toward that goal.

I attended one of Hayden's early



UFW's César Chávez (top left) at campaign rally for Democrat Tom Hayden (top right). Major gains for farm workers will be won not by supporting 'friends' in Democratic party, but by independent action.

campaign meetings in Los Angeles. It was held August 25, 1975.

Explaining that he was not offering promises or a personality, but a program, Hayden said:

"The only thing I can promise you is that I will not betray you. I promise a consistent commitment to my program."

Hollow promises

Did Tom Hayden keep that promise?

One simple fact shows how hollow it was. Three days after the June 8 primary, Hayden announced that in November he intended to vote for the man he had opposed "programmatically"—John Tunney.

I cite all of this not simply to prove that Tom Hayden isn't to be trusted. It only confirms that no Democratic party politician is to be trusted.

And it's not a matter of personal character or integrity. What is involved is the nature of the beast. The Democratic party, like its Republican counterpart, is owned and controlled by the banks and corporations. The Democratic party is a capitalist party. There is no way it can be used to advance the interests of working people. It can, however, advance the personal careers of ex-radicals.

The interests of the workers and of the capitalists are flatly contradictory and mutually exclusive. One gains only at the expense of the other. That's why it's impossible to have a political party that serves the interests of both.

Does this mean, then, that the UFW and others should simply ignore the Democratic party?

No. The farm workers' struggle cannot be won in the fields alone.

Political pressure on those who rule is absolutely necessary.

But that pressure can best be applied by a movement that is independent of the major parties.

For one thing, politicians aren't particularly concerned about the demands of constituents if they feel they have their votes sewed up.

More pressure can be applied, and applied more effectively, by a movement that is politically independent.

The major gains of the UFW have not been won through reliance on "friends" in the Democratic party, be they Governor Brown or anyone else.

The contracts won in 1970 and the passage of a farm labor law in 1975 were the fruits of the militant solidarity of the *campesinos* and the world impact of the massive boycott.

The growers and politicians yielded to mass pressure, not to assurances that they had the farm workers' vote.

Does this mean that strikes and boycotts are sufficient to win?

Definitely not. Political action is essential. But it has to be effective political action, not the kind that leads into a trap. And reliance on either of the major parties is a deadly trap.

Many UFW members and supporters are aware of the important differences between their union and the more traditional ones.

But a number of the more conservatismized unions, particularly those that were part of the early CIO, started out a lot more like the UFW than you would imagine, looking at them today.

One of the big things that changed them for the worse is that their officials led them into the trap of capitalist party politics.

Just look at how the municipal unions in New York are being chopped down today. The ones doing the chopping are the very Democrats that they helped put in office.

And even now when it's so clear that these "friends" of labor are really enemies, the union officials are incapable of responding because they are incapable of breaking out of the trap they led their ranks into.

The problem isn't really all that complicated either.

When farm workers cast their votes in union representation elections, they usually have a choice of the UFW, the Teamsters, or "no union." This comes down to a choice between the real union (the UFW) and the growers. For a majority of field hands the choice has been easy. They know they cannot protect and advance their interests by voting for the growers. That's why they vote for the union.

These field hands—and all other workers—should have the same kind of choice in the elections for public office.

Every time a farm worker pulls down the lever that says Democrat (or Republican) it's the same as voting for the grower.

Just as the farm workers need their own union to protect them and fight for them, so they need their own party to do the same thing on the political arena.

And in California, there would be an easy way to start.

La Raza Unida party

A majority of farm workers are Chicanos or *mexicanos*. In California La Raza Unida party is organizing Chicanos and *mexicanos* to fight politically against their oppression. The RUP recognizes that both major parties are responsible for that oppression and that *la raza* needs its own party.

La Raza Unida is still a relatively small movement. But what would happen if the United Farm Workers union were to put its weight behind this party? Almost overnight it would become a major factor in California politics. And just as quickly it would do more to defend the interests of farm workers than all the Browns and Haydens laid end to end.

If the UFW took such a step, it would represent a tremendous gain for *la causa*.

It would also set a splendid example for all of labor.

FOR FURTHER READING ON

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Why the warfare on child care?

By Ginny Hildebrand

"I couldn't afford private day care and I don't have anyone I could leave my children with. I've never been on welfare, but I'd have to do it."

Like Lula Ford, a teacher's aide in Chicago, thousands of working mothers braced themselves this spring for possible cutbacks in child care.

Then the bad news began to arrive:

- On March 31, the New York City government purged 7,200 families from day-care programs. These families were too "affluent." They earned more than \$11,411 per year.

- On May 5, Congress upheld President Ford's veto of a \$125 million child-care bill. Without these funds many centers can't meet the minimal health, safety, and personnel requirements. And that means they will lose the rest of their federal funds. (The *Christian Science Monitor* estimates this could mean a loss of facilities for 59,500 children in Illinois, Texas, Georgia, and California alone.)

- On May 27, the New York City Human Resources Administration announced plans to close forty-nine centers used by 3,500 children and to fire 1,500 day-care workers on July 1. (A suit brought by parents has temporarily delayed the closings.)

- On June 8, the San Francisco city government, in league with big business, defeated Proposition I, a referendum calling for city-financed quality child-care centers for all children needing them.

These cutbacks in child care are occurring while politicians are bragging about a "recovery" in the economy. Clearly they're not helping child care and other social programs "recover."

Faced with growing economic competition abroad, U.S. corporations and banks are looking homeward to squeeze even more profits out of American working people. Their economic plan is simple: cutbacks, layoffs, wage freezes, and higher prices for workers.

'No money'

Of course, the ruling rich don't come right out and say this. Their political parties—the Democrats and Republicans—front for them. "There's no money," the politicians cry.

That's a lie.

Look at where the liberal Democratic administration in New York City has *not* cut back. For example: the millions paid in interest to the banks; or the \$1 million per year for the next twenty years paid to real estate sharks for leases on ten of the forty-nine child-care facilities being shut down.

Look at Congress: One day it said \$125 million for child care was too much. The next month it voted for a \$14 billion increase over last year's war budget.

The government has no intention of dipping into its war chest or the vaults of profiteers to pay for child care and other social programs. Instead, it pushes more and more of its *social* responsibilities onto the shoulders of working people and their families.

Everytime the politicians close a child-care center, shut down a hospital, slash education spending, erode programs for youth or elderly . . . the victims have to scramble a lot harder just to get by.

This is a calculated policy on the part of the capitalists. Their goal is to demoralize working people.

The rulers have a problem: working people now believe that they are *entitled* to increasing numbers of social programs, that it's their *right*. Several surveys have noted this, such as the one conducted by Daniel Yankelevich in 1973.

"In the past," that survey concluded,

"social security, medical insurance, medicaid, unemployment insurance all started out as 'wants' and have now become institutionalized as 'rights.' Similarly today, both noncollege and college youth indicate that they are in the process of converting certain desires into a set of presumed rights, including the following:

"To be able to send children to college whether or not they can afford to do so; to participate in decisions that affect their work; to enjoy a secure retirement; to have access to the best medical care whether they can afford it or not."

While this survey didn't single out child care, many people have obviously begun to see this as one of their rights.

Through the cutbacks, the capitalists want to make working people forget about the idea that they have a *right* to

studies purported to prove that children were damaged when separated from their mothers.

Shutting down the centers worked—thousands of women were forced out of their jobs, making room for soldiers returning from the war. To the government, masses of women didn't become unemployed. They just went back to their kitchens where they belonged.

Today, as in 1945, millions of unemployed women are never counted in unemployment estimates. A recent Harris survey showed that in addition to the women already working or searching for jobs, 11 percent of all adult women would seek jobs if child care were available.

Capitalism, however, needs to keep a large number of women unemployed. Women are part of the reserve army of labor—the millions of Black, Puerto

women out of the job market. In the congressional debate on day-care cuts, Sen. James Buckley (R-N.Y.) entered a reactionary article from the *National Review* into the record, part of which said:

"Often those who favor this kind of day-care/child-development legislation have a mechanistic view of society in which efficiency and convenience supersede traditional social values. Many favor women's liberation and abortion. Pregnancies that interfere with careers—or with pleasure—have to be 'terminated.' Children who interfere with career development or job holding belong in day-care centers."

"That's part of the current social revolution. But despite fancy titles and rhetoric that always promises benefits for children, modern day care seems designed mainly to liberate women from their family responsibilities."

Slick liberal politicians usually prefer the divide-and-conquer strategy to overt reactionary propaganda. For an example let's look at the Democratic-controlled San Francisco Board of Supervisors.

Last spring, before the child-care referendum, the board posed a phony choice to the voters: either hold the line on taxes or have child care—but not both. The direct threat to raise the taxes of small homeowners successfully pitted many better-off white workers against the poorer Black, Chicano, and Chinese communities who need child care the most. Child care lost, 99,833 to 71,724.

But not everyone fell for this trap.

Parents formed a Yes on Childcare Committee with support from community groups, women's organizations, and several trade unions. The committee recoiled at the board's scheme and struck back at the heart of the issue.

Money for expanded child care can be raised "without increasing the taxes on the already overtaxed small home owner," said the committee. The banks and large corporations are rolling in profits but "their property is scandalously underassessed by the City." "Tax the rich, not the poor," parents demanded.

Child care, not warfare

In addition, child-care advocates pointed to the multi-billion-dollar war budget: "A YES vote for childcare would get the message to Washington that we want our taxes spent on Human needs, not on war."

San Franciscans didn't win more child care this time, but the "Vote Yes" campaign set down some important lessons.

First, the Proposition I advocates insisted that child care is a right for all times, not an optional social investment. Each child, they said, has a right to the rewarding educational and social experiences that quality child care can provide. And, each mother has a right to be free from total responsibility for child rearing so that she can pursue a job, education, and social, political, and cultural activities.

Second, they showed that society is not only responsible for providing child care, but has the wealth to do it *right now*. The Yes on Childcare Committee hit dead center when it demanded that the rich pay for the facilities. Money for war, they said, should be turned into money for child care. This proposal helped expose the capitalists' divide-and-conquer strategy.

Victims of the cutbacks can't fight among ourselves for the crumbs that are left when social services are carved to the bone. We have to unite—women, Blacks, trade unionists, students, all victims—and mobilize our power against these attacks, independent of the Democrats and Republicans who wield the knife.



Militant/Martha Harris

social programs. Then the government would have a freer hand to set social priorities to suit the profit-making minority, not the working-class majority.

Drive women out

The child-care cutbacks are meant to do something more: The bosses want to drive working mothers out of the labor market. With the downturn in the economy, they're no longer "needed."

In the 1940s the government found that manipulating child-care funding was a way to regulate the flow of women in and out of the labor force. When women were needed in industry during the war, Washington poured \$52 billion into 3,102 child-care centers. Child care was "good" said the politicians, and so were mothers who worked.

Then, just weeks after the bombings of Nagasaki and Hiroshima, the government pulled the plug on child-care funding. Businesses began laying off women on a massive scale. New

Rican, Chicano, female, and other superexploited workers—who are hired during periods of high employment and cast out of their jobs as soon as high employment becomes unprofitable.

The existence of this reservoir of jobless workers is held over the heads of the relatively more privileged workers by the bosses, who hope to dampen wage demands.

This explains in part why the ruling class *prefers* having women on welfare—even though welfare is three times more expensive than child care, according to calculations made by the *New York Times*.

There's an equally important reason. By providing even a few child-care centers, the government raises and helps legitimize the idea that the care of children is the responsibility of society as a whole.

You hear the sexist myth that "woman's place is in the home" more frequently now. It's supposed to justify slashing child care and squeezing

Big Four bosses break off talks

Rubber strike enters showdown phase

By Frank Lovell

When the rubber industry broke off negotiations with the United Rubber Workers union on July 6, a new phase of the long strike began.

The employers threatened an "indefinite" extension of the thirteen-week strike that started April 21. The major tire-producing companies—Firestone, Goodyear, Goodrich, and Uniroyal—had made their "final offer" and would wait to see how long URW strikers could hold out before accepting the company-dictated terms.

This was a continuation of the basic strategy of the Big Four rubber companies, but now they hoped their war

first year, 30 cents in the second, and 25 cents in the third year, for a total of \$1.30 over three years.

Electrical settlement

The settlement at General Electric took place as the rubber strike entered its new phase. In both cases, the cost-of-living adjustment (COLA) is a significant part of the issues in dispute, and the GE settlement—which is not good for the electrical workers—will have its effect in rubber too.

Under the complicated cost-of-living formula worked out between the International Union of Electrical Workers and eleven other unions, in coordinat-

destroy them, have developed a working relationship with management in this industry. It hasn't produced any spectacular gains for electrical workers, as the \$4.90 average hourly wage in the first half of 1976 demonstrates.

But union officials in both the IUE and the United Electrical Workers, the smaller, unaffiliated union, are trying to overcome some of their past organization problems and are discussing merger. They regard the new three-year contract as a "holding operation," hoping that the national economy will improve and that the unions will regain strength.

It is a different story in the rubber



Rubber workers' protest

of attrition against the workers was entering its closing weeks. With only a slight modification of their terms they expected to further divide the ranks of the union and coax sections of the strikers into company-by-company settlements.

The rubber companies are suffering some losses, but at this juncture they still feel strong enough to outlast and demoralize the strikers. Washington supports the companies.

After talks in Cleveland, Ohio, that extended through the July 4 holiday weekend, Labor Secretary W.J. Usery, Jr., packed his bags and returned to Washington. This was a signal from the Ford administration that the wage offer of the rubber corporations was approved, that continuation of the strike was no immediate threat to the economy, and that government mediators would not push for a settlement.

What the companies had offered was very little compared with the needs of the rubber workers. They had raised only slightly their initial offer of \$1.15 an hour spread over three years. Their new offer was a 75-cent raise in the

ed bargaining with GE, the COLA will raise wages a maximum of fifty-eight cents over three years if there is a 7 percent U.S. inflation rate. The GE COLA does not apply between 7 and 9 percent and then goes into effect again, if the inflation rate is 9 percent or higher.

This COLA is considerably less than the COLA formula in the auto and steel industries, which itself has failed to keep wages in line with rising prices. The COLA offered to rubber workers is lowest of all. It would raise wages a maximum of forty-seven cents in three years, if prices rise 6 percent annually.

The rubber companies were more anxious to provoke a strike this year than GE was in the electrical industry. The reasons lie in the history of recent negotiations and the relative strength of the unions in the two industries. The unions in both are weak, unable to stop production.

The electrical unions, after proving in the fourteen-week strike of 1969-70 that GE did not have the power to

industry. The companies there are looking for a showdown. They are encouraged by several big URW locals at the General Tire & Rubber Co., the Kelly-Springfield Tire Co. (a unit of Goodyear), Mansfield Tire and Rubber Co., and other tire producers that have refused to join the strike.

Officials of these URW locals argue that they will get the same settlement that is negotiated with the Big Four whether they strike or not, pretending to think that their refusal to support the strike will have no effect on the outcome.

In addition to these organized plants that are still producing tires, there are thirteen nonunion plants of the Big Four corporations that are operating at full capacity.

The URW, with 65,000 of its members on strike, estimates that the industry is operating at about 40 percent capacity. The aim of the strike was to cut off tire production and cripple the auto industry, thus forcing an early settlement. But after three months this hasn't happened, and at the present rate of production it ap-

Westinghouse walkout

JULY 21—A nationwide strike against Westinghouse Electric Corporation ended July 20 as the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW), International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE), and United Electrical Workers (UE) all agreed to a new three-year contract.

The IBEW called its 12,800 Westinghouse members out on July 12, saying that the company was refusing to match the earlier settlement at General Electric. Leaders of the IUE, representing 21,700 employees, and UE, 6,500, agreed to extend their strike deadline.

Hundreds of IUE members in East Pittsburgh threw up picket lines anyway, shutting down the big plant there. As the wildcat spread across the country, the IUE and UE leaders felt compelled to authorize the strike.

Militant correspondent Mark McColloch reported from Pittsburgh that strikers were especially angry over inadequate pensions and company refusal to settle grievances.

"Many strikers are also demanding the right to vote on ratification of their contract, a right now denied them by the IUE leadership," he added. "Resentment was high among the pickets over this question."

Union and company negotiators say the July 20 settlement is equivalent to that at GE. That means it is still far below wages and working conditions in other major industries.

pears unlikely that the auto industry will be seriously affected for another month or two.

This does not mean that the rubber corporations are unhurt by the strike. When 65,000 workers are out and close down 60 percent of a basic industry, the profits of the employing class are affected.

The final outcome of the strike depends largely upon the will and determination of the strikers, and there is no sign of weakness among them.

The members of this union exercise more influence upon their officials than is the case in most other unions. "There is always a percentage of the people who will be mad at the local president for not settling," one striker told a *Wall Street Journal* reporter, "but they would be even madder if he settled without a good contract."

The wages of rubber workers have fallen far behind the average pay of auto workers, and they are demanding \$1.65 "catch up" pay. This is money they lost during the life of the last three-year contract when they were without an escalator clause.

The rubber workers don't intend to continue in the same way as before if they can help themselves this time. They are hampered by a weak leadership in their international union. Peter Bommarito, URW international president, is incapable of mobilizing the full strength of the union and forcing a showdown on union terms with the corporations.

But before this strike is over it may be that other URW members who have not yet walked out will join the battle and help bring the corporations back to the bargaining table. That would change the relationship of forces, as well as the unyielding attitude of corporate management in this and other industries.

'They're trying to break the union'

By Alyson Kennedy

AKRON—According to the major media, the rubber workers are about to give up. That's not what the workers themselves say on the picket lines.

Roosevelt Cherry, Jr., a Black member of United Rubber Workers Local 5, has worked for Firestone for nineteen-and-a-half years. Cherry said that although he expected the strike, he didn't expect it to take this long.

"But no one in this country has won anything by taking it easy. The average rubber worker knows what it takes. We know the company."

This isn't Cherry's first strike, but he said it "is worse because the company is trying to break the union."

Other strikers agreed about the companies' intentions.

The strike has been long and hard for URW members. They have not had strike benefits for eight weeks. On July 19 the Big Four rubber companies will cut off all hospital and life insurance benefits, which would cost the worker an average of eighty-seven dollars a month to maintain.

Said twenty-five-year-old Robert Grace, "the companies can get away with this because the contract runs out July 19. But they could pay the benefits if they wanted to."

"If they can afford bribes and top salaries—some of those people make \$300,000 a year—they can afford to pay medical benefits."

Other picketers agreed. It is another

company scare tactic aimed at breaking the strike.

Despite personal and financial hardships, morale is still strong and positive among the strikers. They feel that the cost-of-living adjustment (COLA) is one of the key issues in the strike. "After we have gone this long we are not going to settle for less," said one picketer.

Robert Grace's whole family is involved. He works at Firestone and his sons work at B.F. Goodrich. He feels he is more fortunate than a lot of strikers because the car and house are paid for.

Roosevelt Cherry feels the Akron community supports the strike. "Most people in this town have been on strike. This is a working community. They understand what's involved."

District 1199 ends strike

N.Y.C. hospital workers defeat union-busting

By José G. Pérez

NEW YORK—Some 40,000 hospital workers began returning to work here July 17, ending an eleven-day walkout that was the biggest hospital strike in the history of the United States.

The members of District 1199, National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees, voted 21,348 to 1,060 to return to work after the League of Voluntary Hospitals and Homes, the employers association, gave in to a union demand that the dispute be submitted to binding arbitration.

As a general rule the call for arbitration is a weak stance for any union. So-called impartial arbitrators almost invariably end up backing the bosses.

The key issue that emerged in this strike, however, was the survival of District 1199 with union recognition and a city-wide contract. Acceptance by the employers of binding arbitration in this case signaled a union victory on these issues and a major retreat in the union-busting offensive by the employers and Democratic politicians.

The overwhelming majority of union members considered this settlement the best that could be won under the circumstances, and voted accordingly to return to work. They sought in this way to keep their union intact and to obtain the cost-of-living raise and maintenance of current benefits that had been recommended earlier by a government panel.

At the same time, few workers appear to be pleased with the provision for binding arbitration of their original demands. Many are uneasy because this takes the decision on wages and benefits entirely out of the hands of the union.

The stage for the union-busting attack was set last spring when Democratic Gov. Hugh Carey rammed through the legislature a bill freezing Medicaid payments at 1975 levels. This also had the effect of freezing Blue Cross and Blue Shield reimbursements, which are pegged to the Medicaid rate.

The League of Voluntary Hospitals and Homes immediately seized on this as proof that it had no money for contract improvements.

When negotiations began the league

demanded that workers accept a wage freeze, cuts in fringe benefits, and worse working conditions.

The union put forward its own proposals, which were very modest. Most 1199 members take home less than \$160 a week, and the union's major demand was for a cost-of-living wage increase. The majority of members are women and 70 percent are Black or Puerto Rican.

In mid-June, federal mediators recommended that the league grant a cost-of-living raise and an increase in management contributions to benefit funds to maintain current levels of benefits, and that other issues be submitted to binding arbitration.

The union accepted the federal panel's recommendation, bending over backward to avoid a strike.

The league, however, rejected this conciliatory move. "We just don't have any money to give them," said William Abelow, the lawyer who is chief spokesperson for the hospital association. The league rejected the federal panel's recommendation, and walked out of negotiations.

By doing this, the league, in effect, withdrew recognition of 1199 as bargaining agent for hospital workers on a city-wide scale. The league wanted the union to negotiate with each hospital separately.

This would have made each group of workers at a hospital a semiautonomous union.

It would have allowed hospitals to impose cut-rate wages at some hospitals, and to play off the workers at one hospital against workers at others.

The league was emboldened to carry out this union-busting drive by the serious defeats suffered by working people in New York over the past year and a half.

Since early 1975, the Democratic administration of Mayor Abraham Beame—aided and abetted by Democrats and Republicans in the state and federal governments—has cut back health, education, and other social services.

Tens of thousands of municipal workers have been laid off. Contracts between unions and the city have been ripped up. Wages have been frozen and fringe benefits cut.



Militant/Lou Howort

Leaders of the municipal unions have given in completely to the city's demands. The union leaders have made no effort to mobilize the union members to resist. This has only encouraged the rulers in their drive to lower the standard of living of working people.

The goal of the politicians-employers' gang-up on District 1199 was to extend this drive to employees outside the public sector.

The strike was carefully prepared by the management and by the city and state governments.

When it began July 7, the hospitals had laid in extra supplies, arranged for "volunteers," and made other preparations for a long fight.

The city and state governments also jumped into the fight, sending in hundreds of "monitors" who acted as scabs. Fifty were sent by the state government all the way from Albany, more than 100 miles away.

The city administration unleashed

its cops. They arrested more than 150 strikers and repeatedly attacked picket lines. Cops also escorted "volunteers"—more scabs—through the picket lines.

Authorities declared a "health emergency." This allowed them to legally order other workers to deliver supplies and collect garbage in defiance of picket lines.

The capitalist news media—radio, television, and newspapers—joined in the attack on the union too.

But despite all this, strikers weren't demoralized. Large picket lines and a massive protest outside the Democratic party convention helped keep their spirits up.

And the strike involved 40,000 workers—the bulk of the hospitals' staffs, leaving aside nurses and doctors. There was no way to continue business as usual without everyone from the cooks to the X-ray technicians. It didn't take long for this message to sink in.

On the picket lines: firsthand account of a p

[During the strike by District 1199, New York cops attacked picket lines and arrested more than 150 strikers. Following is an account by César "Tony" Vascenes, a twenty-five-year-old Puerto Rican cook at Beth Israel Hospital, of how he and two co-workers were arrested and beaten by police July 14.

[The account was obtained by Roberta Frick, a member of District 1199 who works at Beth Israel Hospital. The Militant incorrectly reported last week that Frick works at Mt. Sinai.]

It was midafternoon. We were chanting and picketing in front of the hospital. All of a sudden I saw Maria, a co-worker, being thrown up against the wall by a cop.

They said she had broken through the barricade. I saw her reach for her purse, which had fallen to the ground when the cop grabbed her. She bent down to pick it up and a cop cracked her over the head with his club. They began dragging her away. Blood streamed down her head.

I ran to her and reached for her to comfort her when a hand grabbed me and yelled "You are under arrest, too."

Two cops stuck their feet out and tripped me, and I folded to the ground like a pancake.

They handcuffed me so tight my wrists began to bleed. They escorted me to the police van and slammed the door on my feet as I climbed in. They took me down to the Thirteenth Precinct station.

There Maria and Susan were handcuffed to their chairs. They handcuffed my wrists together but I could get up out of my chair. I think they hoped

that I would take a swing at them. I asked them, "What are you charging me with?" They answered, "Shut up!" I got up from my seat to walk over to the cop at the desk. They jumped me, punched me, and knocked me to the floor.

Then the telephone rang. I could tell it was for Maria. But the cop wouldn't let her have it. I said, "Let her have the phone—she has the right to get a phone call." In one motion he slammed the receiver down and punched me in

the mouth. I fell to the floor. Four cops jumped me and took turns swinging.

I told the cops that I wanted their badge numbers. The sergeants immediately ordered the cops to leave the room.

They handcuffed me to the cell bars. At no time did they tell me my rights or let me call a lawyer. It was six hours later, right before I left, that they told me my charges. It took three hours of my pleading for them to allow me to make a phone call, and then they wanted to dial the number and do the talking.

All the while that the cops were beating me they were yelling racist slurs like, "You dirty Puerto Rican!"

I had bumps and bruises all over my face when they finally released me six hours later. I tried to get a cab home. Drivers would stop, take one look at me, and drive on. No one would pick me up.

Finally a Black driver stopped, and I persuaded him that I had the money to pay. He was nice and took me home. You know, I think it was because we Blacks and Puerto Ricans get abused so much, and he understood.

When I got home, I couldn't eat, sleep, or even move my hand to pick up a cup

Defend arrested strikers

The case of three hospital strikers arrested and beaten by police at Beth Israel July 14 is not over. There were witnesses to the beating on the picket line and at the police station. Most importantly, there is TV film showing how the cops assaulted the strikers.

The day following the attack, activists at Beth Israel held a news conference to tell the strikers' side of what had taken place. Union members demanded an immediate investigation of the arrests and

beatings and suspension of all the cops involved and their supervisors.

That night Channel 11 broadcast a story on the news conference and film of cops beating the strikers.

On July 16, a delegation of thirteen union members at Beth Israel went to the Manhattan district attorney's offices and presented their demands.

The union delegates at the hospital are planning a meeting to discuss ongoing defense efforts for the three union members.

drive

The first crack in the solid front of bosses and politicians presented to the union came July 11, when Governor Carey said he favored binding arbitration "if that's the only way" to end the strike.

Previously, Carey had been pretending he had nothing to do with the strike.

It still took almost a week before the league would agree to binding arbitration and defer its perspective of breaking the union.

Government officials tried to explain to the league the "relative risk of . . . trying to score a victory," according to the *New York Times*.

The risk involved was a drawn-out showdown battle that would become a focus of struggle for all working people trying to defend their standard of living.

Given the size and militancy of the strike, the combative traditions of District 1199, and the possibility of mobilizing broader support, a victory for the employers in such a confrontation was not certain.

Even after the league said it would go for binding arbitration, it took a while to work out the details. The major sticking point was a union demand for no reprisals. A deal was finally worked out saying that no reprisals could be taken against any workers except those convicted in court of a crime.

The terms of the arbitrator's award will not be known for several weeks. At best, the union will get a small increase in wages, certainly not enough to keep up with inflation.

The league is still claiming that it has no money. It says any increases will be paid out from productivity savings. This means speedup and layoffs.

In addition, the league's resistance to the demand for no victimizations means that harassment of union activists is likely. And many union members face charges stemming from cop attacks on picket lines.

This sets the stage for the next round in the struggle between the union and the hospital managements and politicians.

By demanding that the hospitals

Continued on page 30

Police assault

of coffee. I was so sick. Sick about what the cops had done, sick because Maria and Susan had to stay behind there. I didn't sleep that night.

In the morning I went back to the picket line. I should have stayed home. I felt so bad, but I knew I had to return to show them that we can't be defeated.

They can beat us, bruise us, but that's not going to stop 1199 from sticking together. I am with my union all the way.



Militant/Lou Howort
CESAR 'TONY' VASCONES



A night at the coke ovens

By Neil Berns

PITTSBURGH—I never get used to working on Saturday nights.

Working the midnight-to-eight shift one week out of three is hard enough on my system; the fact that everyone else is home asleep or—on Saturday especially—out having a good time doesn't enhance the general cheer at the Clairton Coke Works during night turn.

At least the parking lot is less crowded for night shift. On the day-

Neil Berns is a member of Local 1557, United Steelworkers of America.

light shifts it gets filled up with the cars of the maintenance workers. I have to arrive by 7:20 a.m. for the 8:00 shift to find space anywhere near the mill gates.

The wind is blowing out from the coke-oven batteries toward the lot. That means by morning my car will be covered with a thick layer of coke particles precipitated from the steam given off by the quenching process in the plant.

The bathhouse for the batteries where I work—like everything else in the coke works—is soiled gray from the coal dust and coke dust. The men from afternoon turn are beginning to shower up. Some will be rushing home, others to the beer gardens.

The coking operation

A coke oven bakes coal—ten to twenty tons at a time—at 2300 degrees for sixteen to twenty-four hours. This removes impurities and turns the coal into coke, an essential element in making steel. The impurities are refined into some 300 hydrocarbons and other chemicals from ammonia and sulfur to tar, creosote, fertilizer, and perfume base.

Coke ovens stand in groups of sixty to ninety ovens. They look like giant loaves of sliced bread. Each oven is one slice: narrow (one to two feet), twenty feet high, and thirty feet deep.

Large machines run on rails on each side of a battery of ovens. On one side is the pusher machine—three stories high and bigger than a house. It takes the door off one side of each oven when the coal inside is baked into coke. A ram then pushes the coke through the oven into an open boxcar called a quencher car.

On the other side of the battery, a door machine takes the door off each oven when the pusher machine is ready to push out the coke. The door machine operator then places guides in front of the oven to make a path for the coke as the pusher machine pushes it through and out of the oven.

This coke is pushed into the railroad car, whose operator takes it to a quench tower where the coke is cooled with river water and then dumped onto a wharf for loading and shipment. This whole pushing process takes about five minutes. It is repeated by each operating crew some forty times in an eight-hour turn.

My job, operating a larry car, consists of filling the empty ovens with coal after the pushing process so the coking cycle can begin again. The larry car—four big hoppers on wheels—runs on a set of rails on top of the coke batteries. I fill the larry car with coal from an overhead bunker and then pour this coal into an empty oven through four holes on the top of each oven. This operation is repeated as each oven is pushed.

Dirty and dangerous

The coking operation is not much more complex than what I've described, but it is dirty and dangerous work. Let me take you up on top of the ovens and you'll see why.

As you climb the stairs to the top of the battery you immediately notice it is getting hotter. Coke ovens, like any ovens, radiate heat.

In winter, when it is thirty degrees outside, you are comfortable on the batteries in a light cotton work jacket. When it is forty degrees, you will be sweating.

In the summer you had better take salt pills and not waste too much time out on top of the batteries or you can quickly "fall out." I remember my first summer in the mill on a ninety-degree July day, finding that I had stopped sweating while working on top of the ovens—instead I felt cold and clammy. You can bet I got off those batteries quick—and stayed off for the rest of the day.

Heat is not all that rises from the coke ovens. Many oven doors leak. As a result, the raw coke-oven gas—thick and sulfurous—trickles out, up, and over the sides of the ovens to rest in a gray-yellow haze topside. Breathing this gas is one reason people who work on the tops of coke ovens are ten times as likely to get cancer (lung and kidney) than the general population.

When an oven is pushed, a big cloud of black smoke rises from the coke. This means the coke is "green," or not completely baked into coke. It takes about sixteen hours of coking time to extract all of the profitable gas from coal; but it takes twenty-four hours to produce coke that will have minimal emissions when it is pushed.

U.S. Steel at Clairton pushes sixteen-hour coke. That leaves many pollutants in the coke. Add the fact

that most of the ovens at Clairton are more than twenty years old, and that maintenance is kept to the minimum, and it's not hard to figure why there are so many "green" pushes—"bombs," as they are sometimes called.

Company 'cleanup'

During the past two years U.S. Steel has supposedly been engaged in a program to cut down on emissions from the ovens. Needless to say it took lawsuits and union pressure to force U.S. Steel to begin to control emissions.

Unfortunately, the burden for this cleanup has been placed almost entirely on the workers on the batteries. U.S. Steel claims that the technology doesn't exist to clean up coke production. In fact, such technology is in operation in a number of plants in this country, Europe, and Japan. Of course, U.S. Steel has found "A Better Way," as their advertisements say. In this case, it means get more out of the workers.

In the past two years most jobs in coking operations have been redefined. This has meant in practice a huge increase in the time and labor involved in each charging or pushing operation. To compensate for this increased work load the company now provides a few minutes of additional relief time—twenty minutes in the case of machine operators. During the last contract negotiation, in 1974, most of us on the batteries felt a six-hour day or a four-day week would have been fairer compensation for our working conditions.

'Snitches'

The company has also developed a new way to enforce their changed work rules. They have hired emissions control inspectors—we call them "snitches"—who go around reporting "deviations" from the new procedures. The company has never explained why they don't use the hundreds of thousands of dollars they are spending annually on "snitches" to hire enough people to do the work. Perhaps the answer is that U.S. Steel just doesn't care about emissions control. So it makes more sense to them to hire thirty "supervisors" to report work deviations rather than workers to get the job done.

Well, it is almost spell time for me now—with luck I'll find an empty bench. Night turn puts a premium on benches in a steel mill. An hour's rest will probably leave me more tired for the rest of the night, but at least one hour will go by quickly. Then more charges and smoke and gas and monotony till morning. On night turn, sunrise signals the end of the day.

A welcome move

CP retracts attack on SWP petitioning

By Dick Roberts

In an unprecedented move in the history of the American left, the Communist party has partially retracted its slanderous attack on the Socialist Workers party petitioning drive.

The retraction appeared in the July 15 *Daily World*, signed by Hall-Tyner Campaign Committee chairman Henry Winston and campaign manager Simon W. Gerson.

Copies were mailed to the *Militant*

BOSTON, July 20—The Socialist Workers party will be on the Massachusetts ballot. An attempt by the right-wing "National Caucus of Labor Committees" (NCLC) sect to challenge the SWP petitions after they were validated by the state was overruled by the Massachusetts ballot law commission. There had been tremendous support for the SWP against the fraudulent right-wing challenge. Details will appear next week.

and to the SWP national campaign headquarters.

The immediate background to these developments was the petitioning of the CP and SWP for ballot status in Massachusetts. Massachusetts has exorbitant signature requirements and other legal barriers making it extremely difficult for smaller parties.

The state ultimately approved the SWP's petitions consisting of more than 65,000 signatures filed July 6. Subsequently the right-wing "National Caucus of Labor Committees" made a fraudulent challenge of the SWP petitions.

Massachusetts officials rejected the CP's petitions. According to the *Daily World*, "After filing, the clerks arbitrarily crossed off the signatures of registered Democrats and Republicans, miscounted totals and withheld entire petitions." The CP filed 42,390 signatures; 37,096 are required by law. The CP has contested the state ruling.

The Socialist Workers party responded to the attack on the CP's ballot rights by condemning the Massachusetts ruling. A letter to the Massachusetts secretary of state signed by SWP candidates Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid also demanded "that the unconstitutional 'Anti-Communist' clause be immediately struck from the Massachusetts ballot law."

Berkelhammer response

The response of the CP was quite different. In a vituperative and dishonest speech published in the July 3 *Daily World*, Matty Berkelhammer, the field coordinator for the Hall-Tyner election campaign committee, charged that other smaller parties trying to get on the ballot in Massachusetts are nothing but creations of the government designed to confuse radicalizing workers and students.

America's rulers, said Berkelhammer, have put up "all kinds of political parties and tickets to divert people from the only meaningful alternative, the Communist alternative. . . ."

"The ruling class is saying," Berkelhammer continued, "If you're dissatisfied and don't want to vote for Ford or Carter, you can at least vote for a McCarthy or a Trotskyite. . . ."

"Here in Massachusetts we know that it has been the Communists and their supporters who have been out on the streets, day in and day out. . . ."

"We know where some groups have been! In some office copying names out of telephone books!"

Berkelhammer's charges were echoed in a second article in the same issue of

the *Daily World*. Veteran member of the CP Central Committee Victor Perlo declared, "Authorities are less rigorous in enforcing exclusionary laws against other parties than against the Communist Party."

Perlo said, "In that connection, special mention must be made of the Socialist Workers Party, the Trotskyites. . . . In some cases, where many signatures are required, they file without having appeared to canvass to collect signatures on a major scale, and their filing is accepted."

Anger at these phony charges spread quickly and ran deep in the American radical movement. There can be no question that it penetrated into the ranks of the CP itself.

Susan LaMont, SWP ballot coordinator in Massachusetts, pointed out that "anyone who was anywhere near a major city here during the past six weeks knows that such charges are lies pure and simple. We had a team of

ed conversations with Hall-Tyner signature getters who complained about the *Daily World* articles.

In Los Angeles a leading spokesperson for the CP dissociated himself from the articles. William Taylor, county chairperson of the CP, made the remarks at a July 13 meeting of the central committee of the Peace and Freedom party. The PFP voted to support the efforts of all smaller parties for a ballot place.

Bruce Marcus, California SWP campaign manager, read to the meeting the assertions of the July 3 *Daily World* and called upon Taylor to repudiate them.

"I don't agree with anyone that says they [the SWP] were using telephone books," Taylor said. He added, "We would in no way be for anything that would be for keeping them off the ballot."

As soon as the *Daily World* charges appeared, the Socialist Workers cam-

nois, activist Phyllis Roa declares, "Only the capitalists gain from divisions among those on the Left and they adore keeping us fighting among ourselves."

The previously quoted remark by CP member Taylor, the Los Angeles Peace and Freedom party support for the right of smaller parties to be on the California ballot, and responses received to the SWP appeal reflect the deep-seated opposition of people to government infringement of democratic rights and the feeling that the left should unify to resist such government attacks.

This mood is reflected in the CP's retraction. It states that the Hall-Tyner election committee "wishes to emphasize that characterizations in the Berkelhammer article and repetition of rumors and speculations respecting various independents and minority parties do not reflect its policies and it disavows such."

The statement also declares, "We totally oppose any and all laws that restrict the ballot rights of independents and minority parties which stand for democracy. We may disagree with one or another party in its attitude towards our view of socialism but we oppose all efforts of the state to restrict the ballot rights of such parties."

In confining the retraction to Berkelhammer's attack, the CP leaves open the charges made by Perlo.

Nevertheless, the retraction is a welcome step toward what has long been needed—namely that the CP take part in united defense efforts against government attacks.

In Michigan the CP has joined with the SWP and other smaller parties to contest a new law that would force smaller parties to take part in primaries.

But that is the only current example of such a united effort.

Need endorsement

In Texas there is a long history of challenges to the SWP, where the SWP ballot status remains to be certified. The Texas SWP is seeking endorsement of its ballot rights.

In Missouri both the CP and SWP are attempting to get on the ballot. The SWP has asked for endorsers of its campaign in order to head off a repeat of 1974 challenges.

In California smaller parties face immense signature requirements and other legal barriers. The SWP is seeking support of its right to be on the California ballot.

But in these and other cases the CP has not supported the SWP's right to be on the ballot.

There is also the tremendously significant suit of the SWP against governmental harassment. It has led to exposures of FBI and CIA crimes far beyond what the congressional committees were able to find, against the Black movement, antiwar movement, Native American movement, Chicano movement, and radical parties—including the CP itself.

The SWP suit has been featured day after day in newspapers and on television across the country.

Hundreds of prominent labor, Black, and other activists endorse the SWP suit. But the CP has so far refused to endorse the suit. It even refuses to give it any coverage whatsoever in the *Daily World*.

In the spirit of its retraction of the Berkelhammer charges, the CP ought at once to support the SWP's right to be on the ballot and the SWP suit against the government.

It is clear that these two steps would be greatly favored by the many in this country who call for unity on the left when the capitalist government infringes on our rights.

Hall-Tyner Election Campaign Committee

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ELECTION CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE CLARIFIES POLICY STAND

(Editor's note: Stressing the need for wide unity in the defense of ballot rights of minority parties and independents, the Hall-Tyner Election Campaign Committee today made public a correction of an article by one of its staff members published in the July 3 *Daily World*. The

The Hall-Tyner Election Campaign Committee has received a letter from one of its staff members, Matty Berkelhammer, correcting some views expressed by him in a speech to campaign workers in Massachusetts and published as an article in the July 3 issue of the *Daily World*.

Comrade Berkelhammer states self-critically that the speech contains passages referring to independents and minority parties which are fundamentally incorrect. Some of the views in my article do not reflect the policy of the Hall-Tyner Election Campaign Committee regarding the fight of independents and minority parties for ballot status, he writes. He explains that his correction would have come earlier except that he was hospitalized for surgery on July 2.

The Committee wishes to emphasize that characterizations in the Berkelhammer article and repetition of rumors and speculations respecting various independents and minority

HALL-TYNER ELECTION CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE

HENRY WINSTON, Chairman

SIMON W. GERSON, Campaign Manager

REPRINTED FROM THE DAILY WORLD, JULY 15, 1976

Letter sent to the 'Militant' with reprint of CP retraction

twenty full-time petitioners on the streets for three weeks, and as many as 175 people on three consecutive weekends. In all we turned in 65,000 signatures to town clerks."

This means that in Massachusetts alone, several hundred thousand people met petitioners for Camejo and Reid—counting all of those who didn't sign the petitions as well as those who did. And in that large a cross section of the population there must have been members of the CP who were approached for SWP signatures and know that Berkelhammer was lying about the phone books.

Petitioners across the country report give and take between CP and SWP teams, where the petitioning is often carried out on different corners of the same intersections. On the West Coast, petitioners for Camejo and Reid report-

aign committee issued a national appeal for statements protesting the CP's false and dangerous accusations. Responses to the appeal began to come in immediately.

Ruth Gage-Colby, longtime leader of the antiwar movement, wrote to the Hall-Tyner campaign committee: It is "imperative that independent parties and candidates defend not only their own ballot rights, but those of other such parties and candidates as well. . . ."

"Perlo singles out the Socialist Workers party for special mention. . . . In doing so he totally ignores the overwhelming evidence of decades of FBI and other official harassment produced by the SWP in its lawsuit against government agencies."

A copy of a statement sent to the Hall-Tyner committee by Joliet, Illi-

World Outlook

A WEEKLY INTERNATIONAL SUPPLEMENT TO THE MILITANT BASED ON SELECTIONS FROM
INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS, A NEWSMAGAZINE REFLECTING THE VIEWPOINT OF REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM

JULY 30, 1976

Black militancy continues to deepen

Pretoria forced to make language concession

By Ernest Harsch

On July 6, less than three weeks after the massive Black uprisings that shook South Africa, the racist white minority regime was forced to concede to the demands of Black students, parents, and teachers that the compulsory use of Afrikaans as a language of instruction in Black schools be ended. Such a concession by Pretoria is unprecedented in South Africa's recent history.

The attempt by the Vorster regime to impose Afrikaans on Black students in the Johannesburg area had triggered a series of student boycotts and protests in May and June in Soweto, a city of more than one million Blacks. To Blacks in South Africa, Afrikaans represents the language of the oppressor. It is used by the Boers among the white population and is the language of the police, the courts, and the government.

On June 16, about 10,000 Black high-school students staged a protest in Soweto against the regulation. The students were viciously attacked by the police, who fired directly into the crowd. The murders of the students enraged the entire Black population, leading to the spontaneous uprisings in Soweto and many other Black townships in the Johannesburg and Pretoria areas.

According to Michiel C. Botha, the minister of Bantu administration and development and Bantu education, the principals of Black schools can now choose to teach in either of the two official languages, English or Afrikaans, after the fourth grade. (African students are taught in their native African languages during the first four grades.)

Although the concession is a major one from the point of view of the intransigent white supremacist regime, it will do little to satisfy the basic grievances of Black students or of the Black population as a whole.

Encourage other demands

Winnie Mandela, the wife of imprisoned African nationalist leader Nelson Mandela, pointed out, "As long as there is Bantu education there will be unrest. Small concessions are not a solution." ("Bantu education" is the regime's segregated and inferior educational program for Blacks.)

In fact, the racist regime's concession—however minor it may be in the context of its overall apartheid policy—could encourage Blacks to press other, more fundamental demands.

The July 7 *Washington Post* quoted a white South African journalist as saying, "For two years they [the students] got no place with quiet protests. But five days of demonstrations finally drew sufficient attention



June 16 protests by Blacks in Soweto forced unprecedented concessions from racist South African regime.

to the issue and got some action. Unless the government moves quickly on other flashpoints, it'll happen again."

The American imperialists, who back the apartheid regime, have also expressed a fear that Blacks will be emboldened by the concession. An editorial in the July 8 *New York Times* commented:

The concession is too late because it comes after the black majority had resorted to violence, which, as Mr. Vorster's concession now proves, can result in some gains. If Mr. Vorster and his colleagues had deliberately set their minds to radicalizing their country's black population and convincing its elite leadership elements that active, violent resistance is better than appeals to reason and humanity, they could hardly have done a more effective job of education.

Since the apartheid system has been maintained primarily through massive repression, the white rulers realize that any sign of weakness on their part could prove fatal. It was their determination to teach the Black population a "lesson" and to maintain an image of invincible white power that underlay the brutality with which the regime crushed the rebellions and launched the subsequent witch-hunt.

Although the official toll of Blacks killed during the suppression of the uprisings stands at 174, the actual figure may be much higher. According to a report by Denis Herbstein in the June 27 London *Sunday Times*, "Unofficially, it might be twice that number, to judge by doctors' reports."

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, the head of

the KwaZulu "homeland," was quoted in the June 26 weekly edition of the Johannesburg *Star* as saying, "Black leaders believed several hundred Blacks had been killed in the riots."

An official statement issued June 25 said that 1,298 persons were arrested during the uprisings. According to a July 1 dispatch from Johannesburg by *New York Times* correspondent John F. Burns, the arrests are continuing, reportedly under laws that permit indefinite detention without trial. South African newspapers have reported "large scale detentions."

Among those known to have been arrested are Victor Gallingi, a Black official of the Catholic Bishops Conference of Southern Africa, and Thomas Manthatha, a leader of the Black People's Convention. The July 7 *Christian Science Monitor* reported that a former president of the all-Black South African Students Organisation has also been detained.

Kissinger meets again

While Pretoria is hunting down Black activists, Washington has indicated that Secretary of State Henry Kissinger will meet with Vorster a second time. Citing unnamed "sources" in Washington, Bernard Gwertzman reported in the July 4 *New York Times* that Kissinger and Vorster may meet again early next month, when Kissinger plans to visit Iran.

The South African authorities undoubtedly intend to beat back the Black struggle as they did in the early 1960s after the Sharpeville massacre. At that time, Pretoria was able to stifle further mass protests by banning the

organizations involved and arresting their leaders and members. The recent uprisings, however, were spontaneous and displayed a deep unrest among the Black population as a whole. The current repression may therefore be less effective.

If anything, the militancy among urban Blacks has grown even more since the rebellions. Willkie Kambule, the principal of the largest high school in Soweto, was quoted in the June 27 London *Sunday Times* as saying of his students, "If there is no change, these boys are capable of anything. Their mood is that we adults have betrayed them. They are willing to carry on the struggle to the bitter end."

This militancy has even forced Black officials working for the government to take a more critical public stance.

Another indicator of this continued militancy was the July 3 funeral for Hector Peterson, a thirteen-year-old student who was the first person shot down by the police on June 16. Since the authorities had refused permission for a mass funeral to be held, Peterson's burial became a symbolic commemoration for all those who died in the rebellions.

Although police riot squads were placed on alert just outside Soweto, and the Soweto officials had been told not to introduce political themes into their funeral speeches, the mood of the crowd was evident.

According to a July 3 dispatch by Burns, the several hundred mourners sang Black nationalist songs, such as "Nkosi Sikeleli Afrika" (God Bless Africa). There were shouts of "amanda" (power), Burns reported, "followed by the raising of a mass of clenched fists into the air."



KISSINGER

Mexican workers debate independent political action

[The following article appeared in the June 5 issue of *Clave*, a revolutionary-socialist fortnightly published in Mexico City. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

The First National Conference of the Worker, Peasant, and Poor People's Opposition took place in Mexico City May 14, 15, and 16. It was the most important political event in the country in many years because it succeeded in taking the first steps to form a political organization capable of drawing together and uniting an independent political movement.

For three days about 2,000 full and fraternal delegates representing 270 delegations debated the most important aspects of the course workers' and peasants' struggles should follow in our country. Although there were moments of sharp polemic, the conference took place in an atmosphere of unity and struggle. There was a lively chanting of slogans, and a panorama of raised fists dominated the hall over and over again.

The first day, the conference began at the Florida movie theater with the election of a presiding committee and reporting committees.

Héctor Barba of the Democratic Tendency of the Sindicato Único de Trabajadores Electricistas de la República Mexicana [SUTERM—United Electrical Workers Union of the Mexican Republic] was elected chairman. In addition, vice chairmen and secretaries were elected for each sector that would have a session of the conference—trade unions, peasants, people in the field of education, and small landholders.

That afternoon, the delegates heard speeches from the leaders of the most important and representative mass organizations at the conference.

The second day deliberations resumed at Ciudad Universitaria [the campus of the National Autonomous University of Mexico], where assemblies met separately by sector, and meetings were held by the organization and program committees.

On the third day, a plenary session was held in an auditorium at the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters, where reports from the committees and those approved in the sectoral assemblies were placed before the delegates for consideration.

There a proposal to form a Frente Nacional de Acción Popular [FNAP—National Front for Mass Action] was

approved, along with a plan for mobilizations in June and July. The election of a Coordinating Committee to guide the work of the FNAP was postponed.

With regard to program—the knotty question of the conference—several positions were presented and will be discussed and voted on at a second national conference to be held later this year. Thus, only the general lines of the program of the newly formed organization were approved.

Political independence

The most debated point at the conference was the question of program, particularly the issue of the new organization's independence from the government and the Partido Revolu-

This was the axis of the discussion at the conference, and was the point that distinguished the different positions of the delegates. One entire group of delegations—possibly close to half, although not the most significant delegations—pointed to the need to break with the PRI. Those delegations also criticized class collaborationism and placing confidence in the government.

Although these proposals and criticisms were made from various points of view, they succeeded in creating a current of opinion within the conference favoring a break with the PRI.

This group of delegations scored significant gains in the conference discussions.

In the education sector—which included both teachers and students—they won a majority for an amendment naming the PRI government as responsible for the deficiencies in education in Mexico. It said that the bourgeois party and its government are the main obstacles to resolving the crisis in education and to advancing the student movement.

Program committee

In the trade-union sector the debate was sharp. The union at the Instituto del Fondo Nacional para la Vivienda de los Trabajadores [Institute of the National Fund for Workers Housing] and the union at the Fondo de Cultura Económica [Fund for Economic Culture] presented a written report with sharp criticisms of so-called revolutionary nationalism. This report was loudly applauded, although it lacked concrete alternative proposals aside from a break with the PRI.

These two unions were the center of the group of delegations calling for political independence. Opposition to placing confidence in the government was expressed in a statement signed by several organizations, urging the



November 15, 1975, Mexico City demonstration for trade-union democracy of 150,000 was led by the Democratic Tendency of SUTERM.

cionario Institutional [PRI—Institutional Revolutionary party].

We had already pointed out in the pages of *Clave* that discussion of this question was inevitable, since the ambiguous original draft of Programmatic Points did not include a clearly defined position on the political independence of the workers.

However, at a conference representing the most advanced elements of the mass movement in our country, it was impossible to ignore the central problem of the national political struggle. The bourgeois government and its party, the PRI, do not represent the interests of the exploited but are in fact the principal obstacles to their emancipation.

Consequently, one task of the conference was to call for a break from the control and domination the PRI exercises over the working masses of the country.

organization arising from the conference to call publicly for a break with the PRI.

A clear attempt to offer concrete proposals to advance political independence from the government and the PRI was made by the workers in the Sindicato Nacional de Trabajadores de la Educación [National Trade Union of Workers in Education] who belong to the *Boletín Magisterial*, and the Democratic Unity group in the Sindicato Mexicano de Electricistas [Mexican Electrical Workers Union].

They pointed out that the only way to concretize the break with the PRI was for the conference to come out for the building of a workers party, which would guarantee the independent organization of the workers.

To organize such a party the compañeros proposed the formation of a committee charged with raising the idea among different unions and

opposition groups.

The proposal also pointed out the need to call for the establishment of a workers and farmers government, the only government that would consistently carry out the program of the workers' and peasants' opposition and liberate Mexico from imperialist domination.

It was particularly significant that the positions and proposals of these compañeros were codified in amendments presented to the plenary assembly as a minority proposal by the program committee.

'Doctrinaire discussions'?

The group of delegations who opposed having the conference clearly define its position against the PRI and the government is very important, since it represents such organizations as the Democratic Tendency of the SUTERM, the Sindicato de Trabajadores y Empleados de la Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México [Union of Workers and Employees at the National Autonomous University of Mexico], the Sindicato del Personal Académico de la UNAM [Union of Academic Personnel at the UNAM], and others.

Instead of openly opposing a break with the PRI, these delegations argued that the conference was scarcely beginning to develop a program, that it was a minimum program, and that you could not hope for it to contain everything you would like.

They said it was harmful to introduce "doctrinaire" discussions, which would destroy the unity of the forces gathered at the conference.

It is fitting to ask, however, if it is "doctrinaire" and "sectarian" to ask the workers to break with the party of the bourgeoisie and the union bureaucrats. Is the confrontation with the PRI and the apparatus it controls a question of "lifeless theory," or is it something faced daily in all struggles of the workers?

This should not require a lengthy discussion, and does not mean that a program includes *everything*. But it must contain the *basic point* that to advance the struggle for democracy, it is necessary to break with the bourgeoisie, its government, and its party.

During the debate, someone held up the newspaper announcing that the PRI would continue supporting the bureaucrat Salustio Salgado, in spite of his having been rejected by the telephone workers. Here the facts speak for themselves once again.

What path for FNAP?

The plan approved by the conference is fundamentally the motion of the Democratic Tendency of the SUTERM, along with the amendments proposed by the minority. Unquestionably, the electrical workers of the Democratic Tendency will continue being the fundamental builders of the FNAP.

We feel that these agreements represent a triumph for the conference and show that it is possible for the forces of the workers movement to discuss the most important political problems in an atmosphere of unity and democracy.

We should carry forward the agreements of this conference in the same spirit. The building of the FNAP has barely begun and it is the task of all of us, regardless of our differences. Thus, those of us at the conference who stated our position in breaking with the PRI and its government must be the most consistent builders of the FNAP so as to show in action that building a workers party is the only path that can lead the independent struggles of the workers of our country to victory.

World news notes

'Trotskyists' released from prison in Egypt

Word has reached the United States that the five remaining "Trotskyists" held as political prisoners by the Sadat regime have been released. Further details, such as the state of their health after nearly a year of imprisonment under extremely harsh conditions, are not yet known, owing to the tight censorship in Egypt.

The release of the five is a victory for the international campaign waged in their behalf.

In the United States, Arab-American attorney Abdeen Jabara, who specializes in defending the civil rights of Arab nationals, sent a telegram of protest to President Sadat. *Action*, a New York weekly edited by Dr. M.T. Mehdi of the Action Committee on American-Arab Relations, printed an appeal on behalf of the prisoners.

In addition, many prominent civil-liberties activists signed a petition urging freedom for the detainees. These included Reza Baraheni, a poet and former political prisoner in Iran; Ralph Schoenman, who helped organize the Bertrand Russell War Crimes Tribunal; and Martin Sostre, a former American political prisoner.

Also, Dr. Theodore Stathis, chairman of the United Hellenic Front; Noam Chomsky of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Eqbal Ahmad of the Institute for Policy Studies; the Arab poet and activist Adonis; the Palestinian artist Kamal Boullata; and the noted Turkish novelist Yashar Kemal.

In Sri Lanka, activists in the defense effort circulated petitions and organized a campaign that resulted in hundreds of letters of protest being sent to President Sadat and the Egyptian embassy. In Belgium, a solidarity committee helped raise funds to aid the families of the prisoners, several of whom were deprived of any income by the arrests.

The five prisoners who were released are Abdel Kazim Shahit Mahmoud

and Muzahim Muhi el-Takriti, both of whom are Iraqi teachers; Reda Ibrahim Farag, a student; Mahmoud el-Sayid Muhammed el-Sayid, a worker; and Rashad Mansour Mustafa el-Bedawi, also a worker.

They were part of a group of sixteen alleged "Trotskyists" arrested July 3, 1975, on witch-hunt charges of having "established relations with foreign communist organizations," specifically the Fourth International and the Revolutionary Communist Group of Lebanon.

As reported in the Egyptian press, the charges against them included:

1. Intending to "overthrow the country's political and economic system so as to impose a 'Trotskyist' extremist-communist regime."
2. Possession of a typewriter, allegedly purchased with the financial assistance of Lebanese Trotskyists.
3. Use of the typewriter in the production of pamphlets and leaflets.
4. Possession of the Lebanese Trotskyist publication *Al-Mounadel*.

One of the detainees was placed under house arrest and ten were subsequently released on bail. The remaining five were eventually transferred to an ordinary prison, where they were kept with common prisoners under extraordinarily harsh conditions.

The fact that the sixteen were arrested not for any criminal act but on purely political grounds is an ominous development, the petition circulated in the United States pointed out. "It is a dangerous violation of the democratic rights of all Egyptians, particularly the right to free association and to the free exchange of ideas."

The defense effort will continue until all charges are dropped against the sixteen former prisoners. Protests may be sent to President Anwar el-Sadat, National Assembly, Cairo, Arab Republic of Egypt.

Jurists denounce Argentine junta

Respect for citizens' legal rights has "deteriorated much more rapidly in Argentina than in Chile after the military coup," two French jurists told a press conference in Paris June 30.

Louis Joinet, former president of the magistrates union, and Philippe Texier, an examining magistrate, conducted a one-week fact-finding tour in Argentina in late June, under the sponsorship of the International Federation of Human Rights and the International Movement of Catholic Jurists. They were denied cooperation from military officials and were refused permission to visit political prisoners. Their findings were summarized in a report in the July 3 issue of *Le Monde*. After the coup, they said, "all judges were dismissed, a step that the Chilean military did not dare to take." The supreme court was replaced with new judges "who swore an oath of loyalty to the new regime before assuming their posts."

War councils have been set up in various parts of the country, and hand down verdicts in great secrecy. All persons charged with "altering public order" are tried before these councils, as well as all students expelled from the university of Buenos Aires. The accused are denied the right to a civilian lawyer.

It is often impossible to tell if a person has been arrested, because no list of the names of political prisoners are released. Prisoners' rights to visits from family members have been suspended indefinitely.

The situation in the prisons is reported to be "very serious," with torture an "everyday occurrence."

In the factories, the right to strike has been abolished, all wage negotiations have been suspended, and it is "forbidden to meddle in labor relations."

Denounce torture in Philippines

Amnesty International said in a report released June 26 that torture in the Philippines was widespread and part of a "general approach" by the Marcos regime to terrorize political prisoners.

The report said that prisoners were beaten "freely and with extreme cruelty, often over long periods." Other forms of torture included electric shock on the genitals, threats of sexual assault against women prisoners, making detainees place pistols to their own heads and pull the triggers in a "Russian roulette," and alternately scalding and chilling the prisoners.

Philippine authorities have admitted that 4,000 persons are being held without charges.

Micronesians demand independence

Representatives of separatist groups in the Marshall and Palau Islands have demanded at the United Nations that their islands be granted independence. They are now ruled by Washington as part of the UN Trust Territory of the Pacific, commonly called Micronesia.

Anton deBrum, a spokesman of the Marshallese, told the UN Trusteeship Council that the United States should not play the role of "colonizer" at a time when it was celebrating the end of its own colonial rule by Britain. He said that Washington was maneuvering to maintain a "colonial stranglehold" over the Marshall Islands to perpetuate its control of the Kwajalein Atoll, where it has a missile tracking station.

Chief Ibedul of Palau Island protested a multi-billion dollar American project to turn that island into a large port for the transshipment, processing and storage of oil.

George Allen, an American lawyer living in the Marshalls, charged that American authorities practiced segregation against Marshallese in the Kwajalein Atoll. He said that it constituted "racial discrimination comparable only to apartheid in South Africa."

'More rational' Spanish CP?

Santiago Carillo, the leader of the Spanish Communist party, thrilled procapitalist commentators when he disparagingly compared Communism to the irrational doctrine of primitive Christianity and the Russian revolution to "our Christmas" in a speech at the Berlin meeting of European CPs held at the end of June. As far as Carillo is concerned, there will be no more Christmases for the working class.

New York Times correspondent Flora Lewis gave Carillo a chance to explain his lowered expectations in greater detail in a July 2 interview. "Yes," Carillo said, "we had our pope, our Vatican, and we thought we were predestined to triumph. But as we mature and become less of a church, we must become more rational, closer to reality."

Lewis was impressed:

The way Mr. Carillo described them, the goals of the Spanish Communist party are reformist, not revolutionary, and they do not seem to go much beyond many reforms that the United States completed long ago without participation of any Communist party.

"You have a much more intelligent and modern bourgeoisie," he said. "The forces that can make these changes are already in place in the U.S., but in less rich and less developed countries, only progressives and the more modern parts of the bourgeoisie can do it."

Carillo's offer to help the backward and feeble-minded Spanish bourgeoisie to modernize their rule was accompanied by the insistence that "there is no basic difference" between his brand of "Communism" and the Social Democracy. As for the name of Communism, "Why should we renounce it and leave it to the extremists?"

...Chinese bureaucracy

Continued from page 22
the bourgeoisie." But Teng is no more a bourgeois than Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao were.

However, this accusation does reflect two things. One, the bureaucracy of the workers states enjoy material privileges as do the bourgeoisie of the capitalist countries. Two, the methods of oppression of the laboring masses by the bureaucracy are similar to those used by the capitalist class. As the laboring masses have increasingly shown their impatience toward and intolerance of the present situation, the Maoists attempt to shift the blame onto the "capitalist roaders" in order to protect the interests of the entire bureaucracy.

The never-ending factional struggle

inside the CCP has caused political crisis after crisis. It has seriously impaired not only the normal development of China's economic construction but also impeded raising the people's standard of living. When one group of the population was incited against another, a great deal of damage was done to the morale of the people.

It is time for the workers and peasants to step in and put a stop to the factional strife being waged inside the CCP. The masses should form their own organizations, raise their own demands, and intervene in the affairs of the nation. It is only through their own efforts that the bureaucracy can be overthrown and a democratic socialist society built.

Mao launches new campaign

The current crisis of the Chinese bureaucracy

[The following unsigned article appeared in the April 15 issue of *October Review*, published in Hong Kong. The translation was done for *Intercontinental Press* by Jerry Chow. The article has been abridged by the translator.]

* * *

A new factional struggle in the Chinese Communist party (CCP) has broken out, called "the struggle to repulse the right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts." It is a continuation of the Cultural Revolution launched by Mao Tsetung a decade ago, and is another manifestation of the continual internal strife in the CCP during the past ten years.

The fact that the outbreak of the current struggle has resulted in a split in the CCP Political Bureau indicates not only its intensity but also the severity of the political crisis in China. It is an indirect reflection of the irreconcilable contradiction between the ruling bureaucracy and the people.

Since the downfall of Lin Piao in 1971, the Mao faction has waged a series of campaigns against other factions in the CCP. A number of signs indicated that Chou En-lai had been a target of some of these attacks. Chou's death has temporarily removed him as a major target of Maoist attack, but anti-Mao factions have lost a strong supporter and protector. In the eyes of supporters of the Mao faction, a strong opponent, who was difficult to defeat, has been removed. This has fundamentally changed the relationship of forces among the various factions of the CCP. One of the causes of the rapid escalation of the internal strife is the fight over the position vacated by the death of Chou En-lai.

However, the central cause of the internal struggle is differences in policy between the Maoist and anti-Maoist factions. These differences have developed over many questions, such as economic development, education, and science and technology. Although the Maoist faction, which controls all publications, has never published any documents of the opposing factions, we can still gauge the differences from quotations cited in Maoist documents. In the following, we will express our views on some of the questions currently under discussion in China.

On the problem of 'taking the three directives as the key link'

The Maoist faction denounced Teng Hsiao-ping as a capitalist roader. Teng's crime, according to the Maoists, was to have distorted Mao's instructions by describing all three of Mao's recent directives as "the key links for all work." The three directives were: 1) Push the national economy forward; 2) Promote stability and unity; and 3) Study the theory of the proletarian dictatorship. The Maoists advance the following hairsplitting argument: Mao thinks the study of the theory of the proletarian dictatorship should be the key link. Yet Teng says all three directives are equally important. Thus, Teng is "negat[ing] taking class struggle as the key link and tamper[ing] with the Party's basic line" (*Peking Review*, April 2, 1976, p. 7).

The Maoist argument is not very convincing. In a mechanical way, it counterposes ideological work to economic work, emphasizing the former



Chinese workers forced to study Mao's 'thoughts' as part of bureaucratic campaign against 'bourgeois right.' This campaign is aimed at increasing labor productivity and lowering wages.

and minimizing and even repudiating the latter. But the Maoists do not carry this out in practice. In a recent editorial in *People's Daily*, the Maoists emphasized the "principle of taking grain as the key link and ensuring an all-round development in arranging agricultural production as a whole."

Doesn't this run counter to the Maoist argument of "taking the study of the theory of the proletarian dictatorship as the key link"?

On the problem of 'restricting bourgeois right'

The problem of restricting bourgeois right was first raised last year by Mao himself, who said that the present wage system, with its eight-grade wage scale, was not equal. The press then reported on a campaign to urge the workers to increase their hours of work and to intensify labor productivity, but not to demand higher wages. This shows what the Mao faction means by restricting "bourgeois right" by ideological work.

The Mao faction then accused the "capitalist roader" of not wanting to restrict bourgeois right. If what Teng opposed was this kind of restriction on "bourgeois right," Teng was definitely correct.

China today is still faced with scarcity and a low level of productivity. If the Mao faction prematurely restricts "bourgeois right" by cutting higher wage grades to the level of the lower grades, presses to increase labor productivity, and opposes any material incentives, all these policies not only will have an adverse effect on production, but will also sharpen social contradictions.

Why don't the leaders of the CCP themselves set an example in "restricting bourgeois right" by cutting their own astronomical salaries to the level of that of an ordinary laborer? Why don't they abolish their long-enjoyed privileges? Any such steps would be welcomed by the people of the entire nation. However, not only the "capitalist roaders" but the Maoists themselves still cling to their bourgeois lifestyle. How can the people tell the difference between them? What China needs now is not to restrict bourgeois right, but to abolish all economic and political privileges.

On 'educational revolution'

One of the controversies that surfaced in the earlier stage of the current

political struggle concerned educational policy. Mao wanted to conduct a revolution in education, and he might have been sincere in principle. But the Maoist bureaucracy went to the other extreme in attempting to correct past errors. They quoted Lenin correctly that "the school should be an instrument of the proletarian dictatorship." But they distorted Lenin's proposal that "the school be changed from a tool of bourgeois rule into an instrument of destroying this rule and completely eliminating class divisions." They did this by artificially creating class division, unnecessarily aggravating contradictions among people, and inciting one segment of the populace against another. Under the slogan "Down with bourgeois academic authority," they denied the importance of traditional teachers and textbooks. Instead they entrusted the running of the schools, the teaching, and the rewriting of textbooks to the Maoist faithful. Although they proposed the correct formula of combining classroom learning with experience in the process of production, they overzealously forced the school children to spend so much time in the fields that little time was left for classroom study.

Under the slogan "Education should serve the workers, peasants, and soldiers," they let those whose educational levels were equivalent to graduates of junior middle schools or even primary schools enter universities. They placed extreme emphasis on "redness" in politics, while ignoring "expertise" in professional knowledge.

After having carried out this kind of educational policy for several years, negative results appeared. As a result, criticism developed that "the educational level at the universities is even lower than that of middle schools," and "students are not learning culture at school," etc. To placate this criticism, the Teng faction proposed to "send good graduates of middle schools to universities," and to "let experts who are not party members run the institutions of higher education."

These reforms met strong opposition from the Mao faction. The reformers were accused of being "right deviationists attempting to reverse correct verdicts."

On the problem of 'who should hold leading positions in scientific and technological circles'

A closely related problem is who should hold leading posts in the scientific and technological fields. In principle, intellectuals should be integrated with the workers, peasants, and soldiers, and scientific and technological researchers should be linked with production. However, the dispute in recent years was not about this general principle, but the concrete problem of "leadership." Under the slogan of "exercising proletarian dictatorship on the scientific and technological front," pro-Mao workers and peasants have taken over the leading posts in the scientific and technological institutions since the start of the Cultural Revolution. This has generated a great deal of friction and conflict between the cadres holding leading posts and the professional scientists and technicians. Last year one often heard such comments as "Nonprofessionals should not lead professionals," and "First-rate authorities, publicly acknowledged in the scientific and technological communities, should hold the leading posts."

In our opinion, the leadership in scientific and technological fields, just as in any other, should be democratically elected by all those who work in the field. It should not be appointed from above. Nor should those "nonprofessionals" whose only expertise is reciting Maoist slogans be appointed to leading posts.

On the problem of 'struggle against the bourgeoisie'

Mao Tsetung said recently: "You are making the socialist revolution, yet you do not know where the bourgeoisie is. It is right in the Communist party—those in power taking the capitalist road." According to Mao, the "capitalist roaders" have now become the "bourgeoisie." Yet no evidence has been presented in any document to show that the "capitalist roaders" in the CCP are indeed the "bourgeoisie."

In our opinion, none of the leaders and cadres of any of the factions of the CCP form a bourgeois class and privately own any means of production. They are a privileged bureaucratic caste, merely parasites on the workers state. Mao and his supporters have denounced Teng Hsiao-ping as the "arch unrepentant capitalist roader" and "a political representative of

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Court okays dragnet along Mexican border

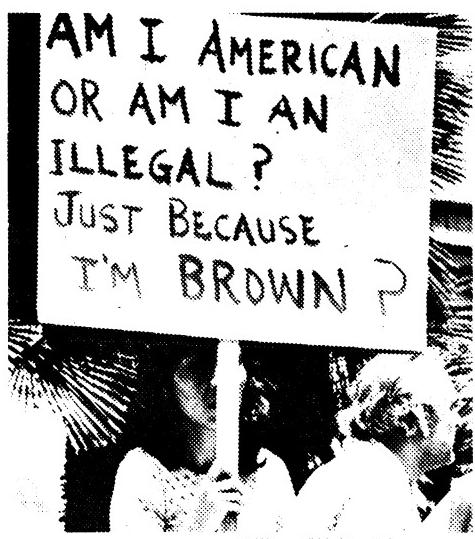
By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—The U.S. Supreme Court struck another blow for racism when it authorized the Border Patrol to reestablish highway checkpoints near the Mexican border.

In its July 6 decision, the court described use of the checkpoints as a "minimal" intrusion on constitutional rights. This was justified, it asserted, by the number of undocumented workers apprehended.

The high court ruling reversed a 1975 order by the circuit court of appeals in San Francisco shutting down the checkpoints because they violated the Fourth Amendment ban on unreasonable search and seizure. With this decision, the Supreme Court also scraps its own earlier rulings requiring "probable cause" for stopping and searching cars.

At the checkpoints, all traffic is slowed down for scrutiny. Those travelers deemed "suspicious" are held aside for further examination.



Militant/Walter Lippmann

The unconstitutional intrusion at the checkpoints may be "minimal" for whites. For those who happen to look "Mexican," it's a lot more.

Whites are scanned and waved on. But those with a brown skin are asked to present identification and proof of their "right" to be here.

This can be a bad experience. There is ample documentation of racist abuses by Border Patrol cops, including insults, physical violence, molestation of women, and good old-fashioned American shakedowns.

Even the Supreme Court's two dissenters were moved to recognize the reactionary, racist character of the ruling.

Justices Thurgood Marshall and William Brennan declared the searches "a dragnet-like procedure offensive to the sensibilities of free citizens."

Brennan added:

"Every American citizen of Mexican ancestry and every Mexican alien lawfully in this country must know after today's decision that he travels the fixed checkpoint highways at the risk of being subjected not only to stop, but also to detention and interrogation. That law in this country should tolerate use of one's ancestry as probative of possible criminal conduct is repugnant. . . ."

In justifying this admitted constitutional abuse, the court noted that in one year 17,000 "illegal aliens" were caught at a single checkpoint.

If it takes violation of dearly won civil liberties to apprehend undocumented Mexican workers, that is only one more reason to end the whole dirty business. Arbitrary immigration restrictions should be scrapped and the doors of this "land of the free" opened to all who wish to come here.

New Libreria Militante



Militant/Rita Lee

Mari Rivera addresses rally opening socialist campaign center. Catarino Garza (right) also spoke.

By Ruth Cheney

NEW YORK—Hundreds of working people on Manhattan's Upper West Side participated in the all-day grand opening festivities of the new Librería Militante and Socialist Workers party campaign center on July 10.

People were attracted by the lively Latin music and by literature—in English and Spanish—on women's liberation, Marxist economics, and the independence struggle in Puerto

Rico. Books on the Black liberation movement were best sellers. The day's sales totaled \$160.

Visitors also listened to socialist campaign speeches in both English and Spanish.

The afternoon rally was chaired by Mari Rivera, a teacher. Among those who spoke were Catarino Garza, SWP candidate for Congress in the Eighteenth District, and Ruthann Miller, the party's candidate for New York State Assembly in the Seventieth District.

Calif. Chicana professor fights for tenure

By Mariana Hernández-Alarcón

LOS ANGELES—A dispute has developed in the Chicano movement here over the issue of feminism and its relation to the Chicano liberation struggle.

Last February, a faculty-student committee in the Chicano studies department at California State University at Northridge voted to recommend that the administration deny tenure to Assistant Prof. Anna Nieto-Gómez. The committee also recommended she be fired at the end of this year.

Nieto-Gómez teaches courses on *la chicana*. The reason given for the action against her is that she has failed to meet "professional criteria" in her courses.

Nieto-Gómez, however, argues that the real reason is sex discrimination. Those favoring her removal deny this.

The main charges that have been leveled against her are the following:

- She has failed to advance beyond a bachelor's degree;
- She has failed to contribute to the development of the Chicano studies department;
- She is not fluent in Spanish;
- She went "outside" the department, to the administration, to argue her case.

The issue of feminism is vital to the Chicano movement. This case can provide an opportunity for a rich educational discussion, if the issues involved are objectively considered and the debate is a cool and reasoned one. Bearing in mind that this is a dispute *within* the movement, such a discussion can only serve to advance the consciousness of the entire Chicano movement.

The charges that Nieto-Gómez has failed to contribute to Chicano studies

are contradicted by the extensive credentials she has in this field. Many of her research papers have appeared in professional and movement publications and she has addressed conferences throughout the Southwest.

In her more than five years of teaching at Cal State-Northridge, she has developed four separate courses on *la chicana*. She is also publisher and editor of the first Chicana feminist journal, *Encuentro Femenil*.

She has been active in a broad range of organizations, including the Chicana Welfare Rights Organization, Van Nuys Community Center, Chicana Action Service Center, and Mujeres Unidas (Women United) of San Fernando.

She speaks and understands Spanish.

In a recent interview with the *Militant*, Nieto-Gómez responded to the charge that she took this dispute "outside" the department to the administration. She went to the administration, she explained, solely to obtain information regarding procedures for appealing the department's decision.

In reality, she pointed out, her case was first taken to the administration by those in the department who recommended that she be dismissed.

They took this action at a time when campus administrations all over the country are looking for excuses to cut back on Chicano, Black, and women's studies departments. The charges against Nieto-Gómez, in fact, are similar to those often involved in struggles for Chicano studies.

Marta Cotera, a founding member of the Texas Raza Unida party, pointed this out in a letter she sent the Chicano studies department, protesting the action against Nieto-Gómez:

"Possibly you remember when we all

so fervently worked for the establishment of Chicano Studies programs with faculties sensitive to our academic and community needs. How we advocated the promotion of Chicanos and Chicanas to faculty positions, indicating that BA, MA, PhD were not so important as having a person who could truly make a contribution to the



ANNA NIETO-GÓMEZ

field, both in theory and in practice. . . ."

The dispute is complicated by the fact that two of the professors in the Chicano studies department who support the decision to oust Nieto-Gómez are respected Chicano leaders—Dr. Rodolfo Acuña and Raúl Ruiz, leader of the City Terrace chapter of the Raza Unida party and editor of *La Raza* magazine.

Despite the prestige of several of those opposing her, Nieto-Gómez is winning support. Although the MEChA at Cal State-Northridge voted to

uphold her ouster, 169 Chicano students on the campus have signed a petition urging the department to reconsider its decision.

Others who have come to her defense include both the national and local organizations of Comisión Femenil Mexicana Nacional (National Mexican Women's Commission), Chicanas Unidas, the Chicana Action Service Center, and many MEChA members.

The Chicano student newspaper at UCLA, *La Gente*, ran a vigorous editorial in March supporting Nieto-Gómez:

"We at *La Gente* . . . believe she is eminently qualified to teach in the field of Chicano Studies. We believe she has been one of the few women instrumental in clarifying feminism. . . ."

Anna Nieto-Gómez is currently the only professor at Cal State-Northridge offering courses on Chicana feminism. If she is fired, what will happen to classes on *la chicana*? Will this important field of study simply be dropped from the Chicano studies department? Those favoring the dismissal of Nieto-Gómez have a responsibility to answer this and other questions concerning the department's attitude toward Chicana feminism.

It is hoped that those *compañeros* who seek her firing will reconsider. The dismissal of this Chicana can only be seen as divisive for our movement. It will be a blow to all Chicanos at a time when we need to tighten our ranks against attempts to take back the gains we won in struggles of the late 1960s and early 1970s.

For further information on the Nieto-Gómez case, contact Corine Sánchez, Support Committee for Anna Nieto-Gómez, 4811 Telegraph Road, East Los Angeles, California 90022.

By Steve Clark

Last February the Communist party USA announced its ticket for the 1976 presidential elections. This year, as in 1972, the CP is running Gus Hall, the party's sixty-five-year-old general secretary, and Jarvis Tyner, thirty-five-year-old former CP youth leader.

Hall and Tyner have announced a goal of achieving ballot status in some thirty states. This parallels the ballot drive currently under way for the Socialist Workers party ticket of Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid.

In the June 30 *Daily World*, which reflects the views of the Communist party, staff writer Amadeo Richardson reported on a television interview given by Hall. "[Hall] noted that the Communists were on the ballot in some 40 states in 1937," Richardson said, "but election officials were making every effort to bar the Communist candidates from the ballots this year."

Inquisitive readers may have asked themselves: What happened to the intervening forty years and nine presidential elections? Neither Richardson nor Hall provides a clue.

The answer is that for most of those years the CP ran no presidential slates. Instead, it generally cast its lot with the Democratic party nominees—Franklin Roosevelt, Adlai Stevenson, John Kennedy, and Lyndon Johnson.

McCarthy and McGovern

In 1968 the CP ran its first presidential ticket in twenty-eight years. This was largely a token effort; its candidates appeared on the ballot in only two states. The Socialist Workers party slate achieved ballot status in nineteen states that year.

The CP's real efforts in 1968 were mobilized behind the ill-fated attempt by former Sen. Eugene McCarthy to capture the Democrats' top spot. The Stalinists helped McCarthy temporarily weaken the mass anti-Vietnam War movement by diverting many activists into doorbell-ringing for the Democrats.

Repeating this performance four years later, the CP used its own campaign to rally support for Democratic nominee George McGovern. CP presidential candidate Gus Hall boasted at the time, "We actually won more votes for McGovern than Shriver did." Sargent Shriver was McGovern's running mate.

Nonetheless, the CP candidates in 1972 appeared on the ballot in thirteen states; the SWP in twenty-three.

This year's ambitious projections pose the questions: Has the CP broken from its forty-year-long policy of subordination to the capitalist parties? Does it intend to offer a truly independent working-class alternative this year in the tradition of Eugene V. Debs?

Some of Hall and Tyner's recent declarations could give the impression that the CP actually has struck out in an independent direction. "A vote for the two old parties is a vote for more of the same," Hall proclaimed this spring. "It is a wasted vote."

"Gus Hall assails two-party set up as big biz trap," announced a front-page headline in the July 1 *Daily World*.

Real independence

An authentic break from capitalist politics by the Communist party would be a welcome development for supporters of independent labor political action. From Marx and Engels to Lenin and the Bolsheviks to the Socialist Workers party today, revolutionary socialists have always taken a principled stance of refusing support to capitalist parties or any of their candidates.

The ruling rich come out ahead even when the Democrats and Republicans put up Black, Chicano, or so-called pro-labor nominees. The function of these candidates is not to give a voice in government to the oppressed, but to stifle any motion toward a break from the two big-business parties.

Communist party and the 1976 elections



Gus Hall (top) and Jarvis Tyner, Communist party presidential and vice-presidential candidates.

In 1967, for example, there were fewer than 100 Black elected officials; today there are some 3,500—mostly Democrats. Yet conditions in the Black community have continued to deteriorate; school desegregation is under attack; and Black jobless levels are at their highest point in many years.

And Black people are still without a party of their own that can carry the fight against racism into the electoral arena.

The American Stalinists, however, have no intention of encouraging a real thrust toward political independence. They have laced their campaign rhetoric this year with jibes at the two-party system in order to better head off the growing sentiment toward such a break.

CIPA

The best example of what the CP really means when it talks about "political independence" was a conference held in New York in June by the Committee on Independent Political Action. The CIPA is a new organization initiated by the CP and a handful of New York liberal Democrats. The CP seems to view the CIPA as a model of the type of "independent" coalition it envisions building elsewhere.

The CIPA conference, attended by 150-200 New Yorkers, endorsed a slate of state and local candidates in New

York's September Democratic party primary and November general election.

Most of the endorsements went to Democratic party politicians running for the New York State Senate and Assembly. The CIPA also endorsed Democratic incumbents Shirley Chisholm and Herman Badillo in their races for U.S. Congress. According to the June 22 *Daily World*, "While expressing a preference for Rep. Bella Abzug who has entered the [U.S.] Senate primary, the meeting did not endorse her."

"Instead, it called for the several more liberal candidates to get together and work out some form of agreement so that the progressive and liberal vote would not be split in the election. . . ."

One endorsement that conference participants apparently couldn't stomach was the proposal to back incumbent Democrat Frank Barbero from Brooklyn's Forty-Seventh Assembly District. CP spokesperson Amadeo Richardson urged the CIPA to support Barbero. But other participants objected. They pointed out that Barbero had distributed antibusing material in his district.

Barbero's name did not appear on the list of endorsements printed in the *Daily World*.

Mike Zagarell, associate editor of the *Daily World* and the CP's 1968 vice-

presidential nominee, explained the Stalinists' CIPA strategy in a column July 3. CIPA's central aim, Zagarell said, is "to unite those who have broken with the two old parties with those who have not but are in agreement on progressive issues."

Vote-catcher for Democrats

He fails to mention which category the CP falls under. But from reading the rest of Zagarell's column, the answer to that question becomes clear: under "those who have not."

"While the conferences will be running independent candidates in some areas," Zagarell said, "it will also be supporting insurgent two-party forces who back the united program. These candidates will be supported on an independent line."

The Stalinists' opposition to authentic political independence was spelled out in no uncertain terms in the political resolution passed at their 1975 national convention. "Those Black or other independent public officials who have utilized the Democratic column as the basis of their election are not apt to be misled by advocates of Leftist or premature breaks which separate them from their constituents," the resolution said.

"Those who have won victories in elections want the independent formations to advance toward further electoral victories," the resolution continued.

One Democrat who clearly would like such "independent formations" to advance him toward "further electoral victories" is U.S. Rep. John Conyers, a member of the Congressional Black Caucus.

'I shall need you'

"I shall need you," Conyers told CIPA in his keynote address to the recent conference. Reporting on Conyers's speech, the *Daily World* said, "CIPA leaders, he continued, should not be surprised if they are invited to Detroit to help put together such an organization there. . . ."

Conyers's district is in Detroit.

The CP's peculiar brand of independence has also led it to support numerous other Democratic party candidates over the past few years. To name just a few:

- This spring the CP backed Democrat Tom Hayden's unsuccessful primary bid for the U.S. Senate seat from California currently held by John Tunney. The West Coast *People's World* explained its endorsement by pointing to Hayden's "antimonopoly campaign" and calling Hayden himself "effective, humane and articulate."

- Last year the CP supported the campaign of liberal Democrat William Singer in his primary race against Chicago's Mayor Richard Daley. In the general election two months later, however, the CP refused to throw its support behind the first independent candidate to appear on the Chicago ballot in thirty-five years: Socialist Workers party candidate Willie Mae Reid.

- In November 1973 the CP backed Coleman Young's candidacy for mayor of Detroit. Jarvis Tyner earlier this year pointed to the good example of "the alliance of the Black community and organized labor" behind Young's campaign. Young was one of the first Black Democrats this spring to endorse Jimmy Carter, who Tyner has correctly labeled a racist.

And there are many other examples.

Nonetheless, the CP is running a bigger and more energetic presidential campaign than it has in four decades. It is also running more state and local campaigns, and talking more often about political "independence." Why?

Our next article will answer this question and probe the important international considerations that shape the Communist party's electoral strategy.

Seven charged with rioting

'Washington Post' press operators indicted

By Nancy Cole

WASHINGTON—Seven former press operators at the *Washington Post* have been indicted by a federal grand jury on charges ranging from rioting to grand larceny.

The charges stem from the October 1, 1975, walkout by the *Post* press operators after management's refusal

to negotiate forced them to strike. During the walkout, the presses were damaged and a foreman allegedly assaulted.

"The U.S. attorney has tried to make a labor dispute into a criminal matter," Everett Forsman told a news conference here July 15. Forsman is the recently elected president of Local 6 of the Newspaper and Graphic Communications Union, the unit representing the press operators.

The strike gained national attention when it first shut down the presses of the powerful *Post* last October. But the dispute was never settled, and management has since hired permanent non-union replacements for the Local 6 strikers.

This union-busting campaign was planned well in advance, Forsman explained. After the strike began, he said, "the *Post* hired a fancy public relations firm, ordered sixty scabs from a newspaper scab school in Oklahoma, engineered a nationwide blacklist against Local 6 members, and began using the legal system and the media to finish the job they had started."

Forsman charged that the grand jury had spent more than nine months harassing members of Local 6 when it might better have used its time and money investigating the conspiracy against the press operators union.

"Talk about violence," he said in answer to a question on the strike's human toll. "That's the real violence—the violence on human lives." One press operator has committed suicide. And more than 75 percent of the strikers are still without full-time jobs.

The press operators indicted are Eugene O'Sullivan, Cecil Rust, Gil Fowler, Lawrence Boyd, Fred Tweedie, Michael Tenorio, and Walter Stahl.

Pickets at 'Washington Post' last October. Not satisfied with breaking strike, now management has obtained indictments against strikers.

Company union vs. Newspaper Guild

D.C. 'Post' workers vote on union affiliation

By Lee Oleson

WASHINGTON—Hundreds of commercial and editorial employees at the *Washington Post* are voting in a union representation election July 17-21.

The vote, conducted by the National Labor Relations Board, offers *Post* workers three choices: the Washington-Baltimore Newspaper Guild, Local 35, their current union; the company-endorsed Washington Newspaper Union (WNU); or no union at all.

A majority vote by *Post* employees for the Washington Newspaper Union would be a setback not only for the workers themselves, but for the Newspaper Guild both locally and nationally.

Supporters of the Washington Newspaper Union contend that since it would be a smaller local, it would be less bureaucratic and more responsive to its members.

The Local 35 leadership has unfortunately exposed the guild to these charges by cutting itself off from many *Post* employees and other union members. Thanks to a recent compromise, however, the local's rank and file will be able to participate more fully in union affairs. The forty-third annual convention of the Newspaper Guild hammered out the compromise July 1.

During the months following this winter's unsuccessful strike by *Post* press operators, Local 35 leaders attempted to exclude all *Post* members from a voice in union affairs. This was part of the leadership's attempt to

"punish" members of Local 35 who acted as strikebreakers during the press operators' strike.

As a result, a sizable number of *Post* employees initially said they would vote to remain with the guild only if a separate *Post* local were established. Such a division would weaken Local 35 and the entire guild. But the antagonism between the local leadership and *Post* employees threatened something even worse: a victory for the Washington Newspaper Union in the upcoming vote.

To avoid both of these unfortunate possibilities, the guild convention introduced changes to democratize the Washington-Baltimore local. It decided that all Local 35 executive board meetings should be open to all guild members in good standing.

For the past few years these meetings have been closed to the union's rank and file. The excuse offered by local Administrative Officer Brian Flores is that this is a Local 35 "tradition." But nothing in the guild constitution or the practices of other guild locals authorizes such a policy.

As part of the convention compromise, Flores promised to resign his \$37,000-a-year job—if the *Post* unit votes to remain in the guild. The compromise also included the establishment of a representative assembly as the local's highest authority. This assembly, to be elected no later than September 30, would determine repres-



Militant/Nancy Cole

Speakers at July 15 news conference in defense of indicted press operators. Left to right, David Rein, attorney for union; Everett Forsman, president of union; and John Hanrahan, Local 6 Legal Defense Committee.

All seven are charged with rioting and destroying property in the pressroom.

In addition, two are charged with inciting to riot. Five of the men face charges of grand larceny for supposedly removing precision instruments from the pressroom. And four are charged with assault on a pressroom foreman, James Hover.

Some of the charges carry a maximum penalty of ten years' imprisonment and a \$10,000 fine.

Attorney David Rein, who is representing the Local 6 press operators, told reporters that physical confrontations are nothing new in labor disputes. "But it's rare that these acts are referred to criminal court," he said. "The main question is, what is there about the *Washington Post* strike that separates it from the others?"

Rein said the \$13,000 damage to the

presses—at first reported sensational by the *Post* management as millions of dollars—was "peanuts to a multi-millionaire operation like the *Post*."

He suggested that *Post* publisher Katherine Graham may have pressed the government to investigate in order to break the union.

"Publishers throughout the country are using the *Post* as an example," Forsman added. "It's having an impact on our industry, and it will have an impact on the whole labor movement."

Speaking for the newly formed Local 6 Legal Defense Committee, John Hanrahan pledged the committee will "raise funds and spread the truth about the *Washington Post* strike."

For more information or to aid in the defense effort, contact the committee at 12433 Kemmerton Lane, Bowie, Maryland 20715. Telephone: (202) 737-2811.

entation according to the size of various local units.

In addition, all local committees will be open to members of the *Post* unit.

The compromise opens the way for a revitalization of Local 35. This can be accomplished, however, only if *Post* workers vote to reject the Washington Newspaper Union. A victory for the WNU would weaken the bargaining position not only of the *Post*'s commercial and editorial employees, but of other craft unions as well.

Past experience belies the claim by the WNU's supporters that *Post* workers will fare better if they "go it alone."

A company-sponsored union at the *Atlanta Constitution*, for instance, has degenerated into almost no union at all; its only members are its president and treasurer. Meanwhile, salaries at the *Constitution* remain well below those at comparable dailies represented by the guild.

The *Post*'s management has already launched a brutal assault on all craft unions at the newspaper. It has broken the press operators union and severely weakened the two affiliates of the International Typographical Union.

Flores's supporters claim that he personally is responsible for the "model" contracts won in past years by Local 35 members at the *Post*. These contracts, however, were negotiated during the economic boom of the early and mid-1960s, when publishers were more generous with wage increases. This, more than Flores's personal

bargaining skills, allowed wages to rise steadily during those years.

With the economic downturn of the 1970s, the *Post* management moved to cut wages in order to maintain its profits—Flores's negotiating-table savvy notwithstanding.

But Local 35 leaders have failed to face these new economic realities. They failed to adequately educate *Post* guild members in the necessity of solidarity with other craft unions. The upshot was that guild members at the *Post* voted four times to cross the picket lines of striking press operators and other unionists.

In addition, the Flores leadership discouraged rank-and-file participation on the pretext that the union members were "too inexperienced." It closed contract negotiations to the rank and file, for example.

This old-line local leadership proved that it does not understand the real dynamics of union struggles.

If *Post* workers vote to remain with Local 35 they will be taking an important step toward rejuvenating their local. Such a step would allow members to participate in their own union and prepare to fight the coming attacks on their living standards.

A vote for the Washington Newspaper Union, on the other hand, would be a victory for the bosses, who—no matter what they say—plan to raise their profits at the expense of *Post* workers' wages and benefits.

Italian elections

The Proletarian Democracy slate: no alternative for working people

By Peter Seidman

Italy's June 20-21 elections reflected a developing polarization. The Christian Democracy (CD) won a plurality of 38.7 percent. The Communist party's record 34.4 percent vote was not enough to overtake the CD, which whipped up a red-baiting campaign against the CP.

But the CP vote—taken together with the 9.6 percent received by the other workers party with mass support, the Socialist party—did reflect the desire of the Italian workers for socialism.

The CP leadership, however, is not for mobilizing the working people in a revolutionary struggle to put the workers in power to begin the construction of socialism. Its program and perspective call for reforming capitalism.

In line with this reformist perspective, the CP leadership's policy is class collaborationism—it subordinates the interests of the workers for the sake of a bloc with capitalist political forces. The Socialist party has a similar perspective and policy.

The CP, pursuing its goal of "historical compromise," has simply asked to be included in the coalition between the CD and Italy's Socialist party that has governed capitalist Italy for most of the last thirteen years.

A 'left way out'?

A slate of candidates also ran representing a coalition of groups claiming to stand to the left of the CP and SP. It received 1.5 percent of the vote. The Democrazia Proletaria (DP) was formed by a number of groups, but was dominated by three organizations: the Partito d'Unità Proletaria (PdUP—Party of Proletarian Unity); Avanguardia Operaia (AO—Workers Vanguard); and Lotta Continua (LC—The Struggle Continues).

Since the groups in the DP electoral

the crisis of the regime. . . ." On June 12, the AO published a document that pointed to the DP as a "left way out of the Italian crisis." The LC, in a May 23 document, even boasted that the DP "assembles all the revolutionary forces . . . that want a genuine and radical turn."

Despite these claims, the DP bloc failed to present a genuine revolutionary alternative to the class collaborationism of the CP and the SP.

With the Italian economy facing a severe crisis, the CP and SP leaderships have declared themselves ready to participate in running a capitalist government. Such a government, naturally, would seek to make the workers and poor in Italy bear the brunt of the economic crisis, as all capitalist governments do. The leaders of the CP and SP made it perfectly clear that they favor such capitalist "austerity." All they asked in return was the opportunity to help administer such a policy.

Against the CP's and SP's class collaborationism, revolutionary Marxists call upon the workers to break with all forms of subordination to the capitalists, to form a workers and farmers government in order to implement a program in the interests of the toiling masses.

How can these ideas be raised in a situation where the workers movement is dominated by reformist parties? Basing his views on the experience of the Bolshevik party during the Russian revolution, Leon Trotsky, in *The Transitional Program for Socialist Revolution*, discussed the strategic lessons Marxists have learned from the class struggle in this regard.

Trotsky explained that the "chief accusation" revolutionists should advance "against the traditional organizations of the proletariat is the fact that they do not wish to tear themselves away from the political semicorpse of the bourgeoisie. Under these conditions the demand, systematically addressed to the old leadership: 'Break with the bourgeoisie, take the power!' is an extremely important weapon for exposing the treacherous character of the [reformists]." In the present situation in Italy, this could be done by calling for a CP-SP government.

Independent politics

For Trotsky and the Bolsheviks, such a demand could help convince the workers who remained loyal to the reformist parties of the need to break with the bourgeois parties and form a workers and farmers government.

By raising this demand, revolutionaries could not only educate on the need for working-class political independence, but also expose the reformist parties, which use their influence in the workers movement to shore up capitalism.

But the major organizations in the DP failed to call for such a class break with the capitalist parties. Instead of calling for a workers and farmers government, they called for a vague "left" government. They simply offered a more "left" version of the kind of capitalist government supported by the CP and SP.

The four groups that issued the June 8 appeal called for "a government of the left in which the historic parties of the working class, the PCI and the



Italian demonstrators demanding 'People's Power.' This slogan failed to educate the masses on need to demand that the CP and SP break with the bourgeois parties and form a workers government that would fight for socialism.

PSI, will have decisive weight, a government open to Catholic forces that free themselves of the domination of the political Catholicism of the Christian Democracy, open above all to the movements of struggle within society. . . ."

This "appeal" explicitly left the door open to the participation of bourgeois forces in the "government of the left," as long as they break with the CD. One leader of the PdUP, Vincenzo Sparagna, has described the "government of the left" as a "front embracing Catholic and bourgeois democratic forces with a left pivot, with the decisive presence of the CP."

Vague process

The failure of the main organizations in the DP to counterpose a clear revolutionary class alternative to the reformist perspective of the CP is not accidental. Like the CP, these groups—despite their radical rhetoric—did not participate in the elections to raise the need for socialist revolution.

They offered instead the prospect of an extended period during which a vague process they call "workers and people's power" would unfold under the auspices of the capitalist "left government" they propose.

In the *Transitional Program*, Trotsky attacked this position. "The slogan, 'workers' and farmers' government,' is thus acceptable to us," he wrote, "only in the sense that it had in 1917 with the Bolsheviks, i.e., as an anti-bourgeois and anti-capitalist slogan. . . ." Attacking the distortions of the Bolsheviks' teachings later introduced by Stalin, Trotsky warned that the slogan for a workers and farmers government should never be used "in that 'democratic' sense which later the [Stalinists] gave it, transforming it from a bridge to socialist revolution into the chief barrier upon its path."

The PdUP and AO refused even to use the class terminology of a "workers and farmers government" to clothe their reformist perspective. They went so far as to pledge in advance to "support" a capitalist "government of

the left." The June 8 manifesto stipulated only that they would "stimulate" the "left government" through "struggles for ever more advanced objectives."

The AO's June 12 document said there was even a "possibility" that the capitalist "left" government might become "an instrument that can be used by the popular masses in their struggle instead of an instrument entirely in the hands of their enemies."

Flowing from this, the AO felt that the DP should "work out a scale of priorities in the objectives of the mass movement" of the workers that "takes account of the margins for action commanded by a left government in each given phase." The AO said that the "radicals" of the DP should use their influence over the masses to tailor their demands so that "the 'costs of the crisis' will be distributed."

This policy stands in sharp contrast to the analysis put forward by Lenin in *The State and Revolution*. "The doctrine of the class struggle, as applied by Marx to the question of the state and of the Socialist revolution," Lenin wrote, led inevitably to the recognition that "the overthrow of the bourgeoisie is realizable only by the transformation of the proletariat into the *ruling class*, able to crush the inevitable and desperate resistance of the bourgeoisie, and to organize, for the new economic order, *all* the toiling and exploited masses."

Unlike Lenin, the AO offers an ambiguous notion of what constitutes a revolutionary transformation of capitalist society, how this will be achieved, and whether a socialist revolution is even necessary.

The AO says that the "seizure and exercise of power" should be conceived neither "simply nor primarily as a pure extension of the instruments of state intervention (even if they are in the hands of workers parties) or as a simple radicalization of the objectives of the left government. Rather, they must be conceived as a conscious and prolonged process of struggle for power through the realization of forms of



Symbol of Proletarian Democracy slate

bloc were not able to come up with a common platform, each organization presented its own platform for its candidates. The three best-known and most visible organizations, however, gave the block its political stamp.

The DP campaign was launched with a great deal of radical rhetoric. A June 8 manifesto signed by the PdUP, AO, and two other smaller groups in the bloc was the nearest thing to a DP platform. This manifesto proclaimed that the DP "is the only electoral formation that clearly poses the objective of providing a positive way out of

workers and people's control of the entire social fabric, a process for which the left government may be pressed to become the instrument."

The LC's May 23 document went so far in departing from Lenin's call to install the proletariat as "the ruling class" that it described the role of revolutionists in a "politically advanced left government" as merely preventing "the reactionary and subversive elements from worming their way into the ministries or from using the state apparatus to carry out their own projects. . . ."

Such a lack of clarity on such central questions as the need for working-class independence, the need for revolution, and the nature of the capitalist state is characteristic not only of AO and the LC, but of the PdUP. Indeed, it is characteristic in general of such petty-bourgeois groups, which take a centrist stand—between outright reformism and Marxism.

In addition to their fuzzy, utopian, and reformist strategic outlook of building "workers and people's power" under a "left government," the main organizations in the DP raised demands that can only be described as counterrevolutionary and bourgeois nationalist.

For example, the June 8 manifesto set as its first foreign policy plank the demand for the "withdrawal of the American and Soviet fleets from the Mediterranean" and called for a "non-aligned policy" in relation to the "superpowers."

These reactionary ideas are borrowed from Maoism, which exerts a strong influence on these groups. They play into the hands of imperialism.

The signers of the June 8 document also call for a "radical redrafting of Common Market agricultural policy" so as to "pursue an independent development of agriculture." But this is a bourgeois nationalist attempt to solve the problems of the Italian economy at the expense of workers and farmers in other European countries.

Democratic rights

The DP also failed to differentiate itself from the CP on the key question of democratic rights.

This was a big issue because the ruling CD said a CP victory would lead to a restriction of democratic rights similar to the totalitarian practices that exist in the Soviet Union.

A debate over democratic rights opened another big opportunity for revolutionists during the election. It offered another way to challenge the influence of the CP over the workers, who look to socialism not to restrict, but to extend political freedoms, as well as raise the economic, social, and cultural level they will enjoy.

In order to meet this challenge, however, revolutionists need to be clear on this question themselves. The three major groups in the DP do not answer the criticism of undemocratic practices in the Soviet Union by clearly advocating proletarian democracy for both Italy and the workers states. Instead they answer the CD's anticommunist arguments by pointing to the undemocratic model of Mao's China as what they—to one degree or another—all uphold.

Offering the Italian workers the prospect of a bureaucratic future guided by Maoist Thought is not an effective answer to the antisocialist slander campaign of the Christian Democrats.

The three major groups in the DP did not provide a revolutionary alternative to the CP or SP on any of the main questions confronting the Italian workers in the June election. They failed to counter the reformists' call for a class-collaborationist government. Instead they offered only a muddled perspective based on utopian schemes of "workers and people's power," bourgeois nationalism, and reactionary Maoist positions. This can only lead, as we have seen in the case of PdUP's Sparagna, to tail-ending the CP.

Probusing teachers organize for AFT Miami convention

By Jeff Powers

[The following are excerpts from a July 5 interview given to the Militant by Jeff Mackler, national coordinator of the American Federation of Teachers Committee on Desegregation and Equality in Education. The committee's address is 1921 Oak View Drive, Oakland, California 94602. Telephone: (415) 530-1035.]

Question. What is the AFT Committee on Desegregation and Equality in Education?

Answer. The committee was formed shortly after the 1975 AFT national convention held in Hawaii last summer. At that time, after a heated floor debate, the convention refused to reaffirm the longstanding position of the AFT in support of busing to achieve desegregated schools.

Three probusing resolutions had been submitted to the convention. The AFT Executive Council introduced a substitute resolution that did not mention busing. The executive council's resolution contained a section implying that both pro- and antibusing forces shared responsibility for the racist violence that gripped Boston following the implementation of the federal desegregation order.

After the resolution passed, many AFT members felt it was necessary to get the AFT to reverse this position. To do this we needed to educate AFT members on the importance of the union movement taking a strong stand in defense of desegregation.

Q. What were the reasons given for opposition to busing during the debate?

A. One argument centered on the position taken by the Boston AFT local. This local had appealed the federal court's busing order. Since the Boston local opposed important aspects of the order, including staff desegregation requirements, opponents of the probusing resolutions pleaded that the national AFT should refrain from publicly opposing one of its locals.

But AFT President Albert Shanker argued directly against busing. He said that school desegregation was a complicated question and that no one had all the answers. At that time, the AFT National Executive Board had just finished sending a task force to Boston to study the situation. The task force's report stated that the real issue was not busing, but the need for massive federal funding to achieve quality education. The report proposed that Boston should be made a national experiment along these lines.

Shanker hoped to avoid taking a stand on busing at that time by putting forward vague proposals for more money for education instead.

He told the delegates that the AFT did not know if busing "was the best way to desegregate" schools in Boston, New York, or Chicago. He said the convention did not have a mandate from the membership to take a position on the question.

Shanker neglected to mention that many years ago the AFT had adopted a probusing resolution with little or no debate—but then it was a matter of desegregation in the South.

Q. What has the AFT Committee on Desegregation and Equality in Education been doing this past year?

A. The AFT leaders in several states drafted a resolution entitled "Desegregation and Equality in Education." This resolution has been passed by the 35,000-member California Federation

of Teachers, the Washington Teachers Union, and by many AFT locals in California, Indiana, New Jersey, Michigan, and elsewhere.

More than 120 AFT local officers and state federation presidents have endorsed the resolution and some have established desegregation committees in their own locals.

AFT members contributed money to send copies of the resolution to all 2,200 AFT locals in the United States.

Resolution signers plan to submit it to the 1976 AFT national convention, which will be held in Miami, August 16-20.

During the convention the committee will have a booth and open forums where school desegregation and busing will be discussed. The NAACP has agreed to send a representative to speak at the first meeting scheduled by the committee at the convention.

Q. What are the central issues raised in your resolution?

A. The resolution calls on the AFT to give full support to busing. It calls for massive federal funding for education. It also calls on federal, state, and local authorities to stop racist antibusing violence.

Shanker explained that he had marched in the South because "neither the state nor the local nor the United States government was there to enforce the order of the courts."

Now he says Boston is different. "The government is there. . . ." Shanker said. "It is not a question of a silent government standing by and defeating this court order."

But that's just not true.

Q. Several months ago, AFL-CIO President George Meany and the AFL-CIO convention gave strong support to busing and desegregation. Do you think Meany's position will influence the debate at this year's AFT convention?

A. There is no doubt that Meany's position has made it more difficult for antibusing forces in the labor movement.

During the past few months, Shanker himself has indicated that it is not his intention to maintain a hard antibusing line. It is not unlikely that, if faced with a serious challenge to last year's backward convention position, key AFT officials may decide to back off.

I hope this will be the case. But the only way to ensure that the AFT's position is changed is to organize the great majority of AFT members at the local, state, and national level to demand a reaffirmation of our past support to busing. This is what our committee has been doing for the past year.

Q. Why do you think it is so impor-



JEFF MACKLER

Militant/Henry Snipper

tant for teachers to take a position on busing?

A. First, school busing is nothing unusual in the United States. More than 40 percent of all students attending public schools are bused to school each day, only 3 percent under court desegregation orders.

The real issue behind the busing dispute is equality of educational opportunity. This equality has been systematically denied to Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, and other minority students who have been forced to attend inferior schools.

The attack on busing is part of a more generalized attack on public education and other needed social services.

The enemies of teacher unionism are using the busing issue to divide working people and pit teachers against the Black community. In this way, the antilabor, anti-Black forces hope to weaken organized opposition to the additional cutbacks and attacks on the living standards of teachers.

A strong and aggressive stand by the AFT would provide the basis for forging an alliance that could counter the blows of the racists and other foes of public education.

Q. Some have counterposed struggles for Black and Puerto Rican community control of their schools to the need to defend busing to achieve school desegregation. Do you think there is a contradiction between these two movements?

A. I don't see any contradiction.

In Boston, the fight for equal education has emerged around the busing issue. It's about the right of Blacks to attend a better school.

In New York, Black, Puerto Rican, and Chinese parents in District One struggled to control their own schools as another way to get equal education.

For years the national AFT and especially the New York local led by Albert Shanker opposed the struggle in District One. The *real issue*, they claimed, was not community control, which Shanker said was racist, but desegregation. Now, these same individuals suddenly find that maybe desegregation through busing isn't the answer either. They say that we need to study the question further before we make any decisions.

No, the struggle for community control of schools in Black and Puerto Rican districts raises the same question as the struggle for busing. The real question is the struggle by the victims of racism for a better life and a better education. While the form of the struggle may change, the issue itself won't disappear until it's resolved. And teachers should be a part of this fight for equal education.



Militant/Lou Howort

ALBERT SHANKER

HOW TO FIGHT RIGHT-WING ATTACKS

Counter-mobilization: A Strategy to Fight Racist and Fascist Attacks by Farrell Dobbs. New York: National Education Department, Socialist Workers party, 1976. 24 pp., \$75.

By Steve Clark

During the past decade there has been a significant spread of radical ideas in this country under the impact of the Vietnam War, the aftermath of Watergate, and the collapse of the quarter-century of prosperity that followed World War II.

Parallel to this radicalization, however, has been a resurgence of activity by right-wing groups of many varieties. The primary targets of these reactionaries today are Blacks and other oppressed nationalities.

The violent antibusing movement in Boston, spearheaded by racist groups such as ROAR and the vigilante-style South Boston Marshals, is the clearest example. But there are numerous others.

Such developments do not mean that fascism looms as an imminent threat to the liberties of American working people. This is certainly not the case.

Yet groups such as ROAR provide a fertile spawning ground for the fascist-minded individuals who will flock to a serious fascist movement when it does arise.

In addition, groups of rightist thugs can and do inflict plenty of damage right now, despite their small size. Even bizarre groups such as the Nazis have carried out assaults on random Black citizens in Chicago, the bombing of Socialist Workers party offices in Los Angeles, and other acts of violence.

The bloody record of the Ku Klux Klan, now experiencing a modest revival, is another example.

How to fight back

How can supporters of Black rights defeat this racist offensive? How can the unions and other progressive social movements defend their organizations against right-wing attacks? And how do these struggles today prepare the way for the fight against fascism when that is on the agenda?

These are the questions discussed in Counter-mobilization: A Strategy to Fight Racist and Fascist Attacks.

Counter-mobilization contains the transcript of a May 1975 discussion led by longtime SWP leader Farrell Dobbs. The discussion had been requested by several national leaders of the Young Socialist Alliance—including myself and Ginny Hildebrand—to help clarify some important questions of strategy and tactics in organizing campus opposition to racist and fascist hate-mongering.

Hildebrand and I then initiated an exchange of ideas in the YSA National Executive Committee about many of these questions. On the basis of these discussions, a report was presented to the YSA's National Committee in June 1975.

That report, given by Malik Miah, was discussed and unanimously adopted by the national committee. It has been published in a companion to Counter-mobilization entitled *The Fight Against Fascism in the USA*.

As a leader of the militant Local 544

of the Minneapolis truckdrivers union in the 1930s and 1940s, Dobbs had played a central role in mobilizing that city's labor movement against a fascist group called the Silver Shirts.

This rural-based group, led by William Dudley Pelley, was attempting to take root in Minneapolis to help smash the successful union-organizing drives spearheaded by Local 544.

Dobbs began the discussion by fitting the tactical problems facing the YSA on campus into the broader context of the overall fight for democratic rights and the socialist transformation of American society.

Especially in times of growing social and economic turmoil, he explained, capitalist governments are constantly searching for ways to restrict democratic liberties. Ultimately, when they fear that the militant resistance to their attacks on workers' rights and living standards threatens to topple capitalism, the ruling rich will resort to a fascist solution to their problems.

Their aim, Dobbs said, "is to crush the organizations and the combat capacity of the working class, the main opponent of the capitalist class."

The government makes use of fascist elements and other right-wing leaders long before it is willing to accept their entire plan for reshaping society. "Our situation [in the United States today] is one where there are on the lawbooks a somewhat extensive body of formal democratic rights. . . ." Dobbs pointed out. "The approach of the ruling class is to begin to move toward a deterioration of those rights."

"Their tactic is to protect the rights of the fascists while at the same time using fascist forces to try to keep others from exercising those rights."

Ban the fascists?

Some have responded to the rise of these rightist groups by calling on the government to ban them. Recently, for example, this demand has been raised in Chicago and Milwaukee, where the Nazis have stepped up their activity.

This strategy is supported by certain liberal, Black, and Jewish organizations, as well as by radical groups such as the Communist party and its youth affiliate, the Young Workers Liberation League.

Dobbs explained why revolutionary socialists have always considered this strategy self-defeating.

First, he said, it miseduces people. It creates the false and dangerous impression that reliance on the capitalist government is the way to defeat the racists and fascists. This clouds the government's direct responsibility in fostering these reactionary movements.

What's more, calling for a ban on fascist or other right-wing groups simply helps arm the capitalist government with new tools it can use against supporters of progressive causes.

Even if such a ban on the fascists is instituted, Dobbs pointed out, the government tends "to give less and less enforcement to the proscription against the right. The more intense the struggle becomes, the more [the government] will be inclined to use their seeming neutrality in the class struggle as a cover for paying less and less attention to what the fascists are doing. The government will let them do what they damn please, while more and more using its authority to curb the rights of the left."

Socialists do, however, demand that the government arrest and punish right-wingers who physically assault



Blacks, unionists, and others. Doing so implies no reliance on the capitalist rulers; it simply demands that they grant working people the basic right of equal protection under the law.

Socialist position

"The democratic right to counter-demonstrate" is the starting point for socialists in the fight against fascists and racists, Dobbs said. "According to the tempo and development of the situation, we infuse into it the concept of the democratic right of self-defense" against their violent actions.

This was the tactic used by Local 544 and the union defense guard it initiated in opposing the Silver Shirts in Minneapolis. The defense guard's aim, Dobbs said, was not "formally or actually to prevent the fascists from speaking." Its aim was "to show them that we were just as determined that they weren't going to carry out an attack on the trade unions as they were determined to carry one out. . . ."

Key to this task of out-mobilizing the fascists is keeping the central issue in the foreground: that is, the danger to the democratic rights of working people and the oppressed posed by the fascists.

George Novack, a longtime leader of the SWP, put it this way: "We certainly

want to be in a position where the relationship of forces is changed in favor of our class and its allies. We want the fascists, racists, and sexists to feel intimidated and afraid of doing their dirty work. But we don't want this to take the form of restrictions on democratic rights, because that can lead to restrictions on our advocacy or that of any progressive force."

"You start on a realistic basis that gives the fascists no chance to fool people into thinking that you are violating democratic rights. . . ." Dobbs explained. "You build up the forces that will be able to deal with the fascists when the reality of the conflicts between fascists and anti-fascists manifests itself in a more physical form."

Education and preparation

This preparation is extremely important both to turn back racist attacks today and to be ready when a fascist movement begins to attract broader support as the capitalist crisis deepens.

"We are under no illusions that the fight with the fascists groups will be settled by speech," Dobbs said. "It's in the nature of things that our rights and the rights of the labor movement

Anti-Palestinian drive pressed by Lebanese rightists, Syria

By David Frankel
From Intercontinental Press

and the Black movement will collide with the supposed rights of the fascists—because the fascists view their rights as a license to kill, a license to crush the workers' movement."

This reality is determined not by the desires of the antifascists, but by the ruthless methods used by the fascists to achieve their aims.

"The main thing is to educate a growing army of antifascists," he said. "The issue at stake for every fighter is: Are you going to be ready for the real thing when it comes? And it will come."

Antiracist fight

What does that mean right now?

"The main approach to fighting these people today is as racists, not as fascists," SWP leader Jack Barnes pointed out during the discussion. "Fascism is not an imminent threat in the United States, but the mobilization of racist forces is."

The central campaign of the racists today is against busing as a tool to ensure Black students their right to an equal education. There is no better way to fight reaction now than to become involved in organizing the movement in support of school desegregation.

The NAACP and the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR), for example, mobilized 15,000 people in Boston in May 1975 to oppose racist attacks on that city's court-ordered busing plan. More and larger demonstrations like this are needed to defeat the antibusing forces.

Ultimately, the fascist threat and the poison of racism can only be eradicated under socialism, when rule by the capitalist minority is replaced by a society democratically governed by working people. That is why a crucial aspect of preparing for the fight against fascism is to build the Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance.

Counter-mobilization delves into more of these questions than can even be touched on in the space available in a review. In addition, it contains several useful appendices that provide a deeper insight into the experience of revolutionists on these matters.

Together with *The Fight Against Fascism*, *Counter-mobilization* is an invaluable handbook for activists in the Black, labor, and student movements.

FURTHER READING

DEFENSE POLICIES AND PRACTICES OF THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
By George Novack. 24 pp. \$35

THE FIGHT AGAINST FASCISM IN THE USA
Forty Years of Struggle Described by Participants
By James P. Cannon, Farrell Dobbs, Vincent R. Dunne, Joseph Hansen, Malik Miah, and others. 56 pp. \$1.35

FASCISM: WHAT IT IS, HOW TO FIGHT IT.
By Leon Trotsky. 32 pp. \$60.

FASCISM & BIG BUSINESS
By Daniel Guerin. 318 pp. cloth \$13.00, paper \$3.25

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST FASCISM IN GERMANY
By Leon Trotsky. 479 pp. cloth \$14.00, paper \$3.45

Right-wing Christian forces, in conjunction with their Syrian supporters, have dealt a series of setbacks to the Muslim-leftist-Palestinian coalition in Lebanon's fifteen-month-old civil war. *Washington Post* correspondent Joseph Fitchett indicated the situation in northern Lebanon in a July 7 dispatch from the village of Chekka. "Christian jeeps dragged the bodies of dead Palestinian guerrillas through jubilant

Syrian troops coming from the Bekaa Valley north of Zahle moved against the rear of Palestinian-leftist forces in Zahle and attacked Palestinian-leftist forces that had threatened the Christian heartland from Ferraya, a ski resort high up on Mount Lebanon. The Palestinians could not face a two-front battle and dispersed, thus freeing rightist troops for the attack on Tell Zaatar.

In a letter to Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat that was made public July 8, Yassir Arafat, the head of the Palestine Liberation Organization

continues to maneuver in order to avoid as much of the onus as possible for the military reverses being suffered by the Palestinians and their allies. For example, his troops pulled back from Saida July 14 after having destroyed the refinery there. This move was supposedly a gesture of good faith in order to ease the way for negotiations between Assad and Arafat.

However, Palestinian leaders have indicated that they have little faith in such negotiations. Salah Khalaf (Abu Iyad), Arafat's main aide, told Tanner in a July 16 interview:

The Syrians will not withdraw voluntarily [from their main positions in Lebanon]. . .

Personally, I believe that the fall of President Assad's regime is a necessity. There will always be a struggle between him and us. Sometimes this struggle will be out in the open. Sometimes there will be political maneuvering. . .

The Syrians came into Lebanon to strike at the Palestinian resistance, not at the Lebanese left. They came with the approval of the United States and Israel.

Moscow's treachery

While Assad maneuvers to destroy the Palestinian movement in Lebanon, the Stalinist bureaucrats in Moscow have been playing a particularly treacherous role. As *Christian Science Monitor* correspondent John K. Cooley explained in a July 15 dispatch from Beirut:

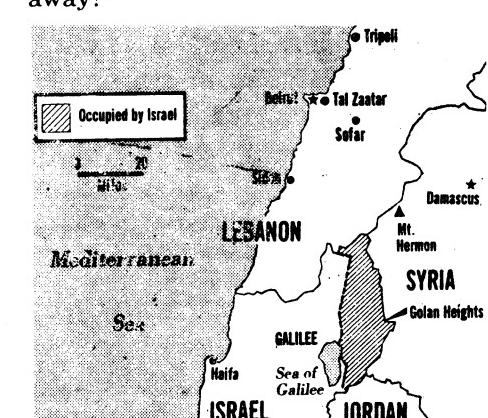
"The Soviets are trying hard to convince the Arab world that they will help the beleaguered Palestinians here against strong military pressure from Syria—but do not wish to endanger their strong position in Syria by actually doing so."

Thus, when Beirut radio said July 13 that the Soviet embassy had begun putting pressure on Assad to withdraw his forces from Lebanon, the Soviet Foreign Ministry in Moscow refused to confirm the report. One Soviet citizen "with quasi-official status" in Beirut explained Moscow's view to Cooley by saying:

"The U.S.S.R. and Syria have too much interest in keeping up their good relationship to really jeopardize it now."

But the fact is that if Assad is successful in gutting the Palestinian liberation movement in Lebanon, he will have done away with one of the most powerful forces standing in the way of his rapprochement with American imperialism. Not only is the policy being pursued by Moscow a betrayal of the Palestinian people, it also will open the door for further diplomatic defeats for the Kremlin in the Middle East.

Nor will the attempt to reach a Middle East settlement at the expense of the Palestinian people bring peace to the region. On the contrary, it will only embolden the Israeli regime to further acts of aggression while leaving the basic issues unsolved. As one PLO leader told *Christian Science Monitor* correspondent William Blakemore in a recent interview, "Do these regimes think three and a half million Palestinians are going to just go away?"



Christian villages," he reported.

On July 12 rightist forces advanced to the outskirts of Tripoli, Lebanon's second-largest city. As the Christian rightists pushed on Tripoli from the south, Syrian forces were putting pressure on two Palestinian refugee camps north of the city. The Palestinians charged that Syrian artillery had caused heavy casualties in the camps of Nahar el-Barad and Baddawi.

Syrian artillery was also active in southern Lebanon, where it was used against the oil refinery and storage tanks in the port city of Saida in an effort to cut off the supply of fuel to Muslim and Palestinian forces.

In eastern Lebanon's Bekaa Valley, Syrian army units occupied the city of Baalbek July 15 after two days of fighting. Baalbek, with a population of 110,000, was the only major town in the Bekaa Valley that was not already under Syrian control.

Meanwhile, in Beirut the rightist siege of the Palestinian refugee camp of Tell Zaatar entered its twenty-sixth day July 17 with the defenders still holding out.

Assad helps rightists

Syrian President Hafez al-Assad has preferred to let the Christian rightists take responsibility for the sharpest fighting, thus avoiding the charge that it is his forces that are threatening a massacre in Lebanon. But the reality is clear: without Assad, the rightists would never have been able to carry out their new offensive.

"The battle of Tell Zaatar points up the impact of the Syrian military intervention," Henry Tanner said in a July 9 dispatch from Beirut in the *New York Times*. Tanner continued:

Lebanese rightist forces launched their attack on the camp after Syrian troops broke the leftist-Palestinian siege of Zahle, the Christian city of 75,000 inhabitants in the Bekaa Valley.

The Christians of Zahle had been hostages protecting Tell Zaatar. The rightist forces did not dare attack the camp because they knew that the Palestinians and leftists would overrun Zahle in retaliation.

Rightist forces were vastly helped when

(PLO), charged that Syrian armored units participated directly in the attack on Tel Zaatar. Although there has been no proof of this charge, a July 10 Associated Press dispatch from Beirut said, "Christians with new American rifles drove Soviet-made armored cars that had not previously been seen in Lebanon as they continued on the offensive in the north and in the capital."

It is highly unlikely that the rightist forces would be able to get Soviet-made armored cars from any source other than the Assad regime. Moreover, Tanner reported in a July 15 dispatch:

Christian right-wing leaders who returned from Damascus last night after several days of talks with President Assad were quoted by the rightist radio today as having said that they had received Syrian approval for a major offensive against Moslem and Palestinian areas in Beirut and the mountains east of the capital.

Further news reports have not featured any denials from Damascus.

Reject PLO appeal

The deteriorating situation of the Muslim-leftist-Palestinian coalition caused Arafat to issue an appeal to the Algerian, Libyan, and Egyptian regimes July 11. Arafat told Sadat that the leftist and Palestinian forces "are caught in the jaws of a nutcracker. There is deterioration and the situation is worse than you think." He warned that "urgent action . . . is needed to avoid a massacre."

Similar appeals were sent by Kamal Jumblatt, a leader of the leftist coalition, to the heads of state of Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Algeria, Libya, and Egypt.

Arafat and Jumblatt received their answer two days later with the end of a meeting of the Arab League devoted to the Lebanese crisis. As United Press International explained in a July 14 dispatch, the meeting ended "with adoption of eight resolutions generally interpreted as giving Syria the green light to continue its military intervention in Lebanon."

On the diplomatic level, Assad

AFSCME ranks bitter: 'They sold us out again'

By Ronald Williams

BALTIMORE—"They did it to us again." "They sold us out again."

That was the sentiment of many city workers at a meeting here July 8 to decide whether to accept a new two-year contract. The employees, mostly blue collar, were members of Local 44, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.

Union officials claim that the new contract was approved by a four-to-one margin, although they admit that no official count was taken. They ran the meeting with a heavy hand. After the first five or six speakers urged rejecting the contract, union tops switched off the microphones.

Other members of the union negotiating team then attempted to sell the contract, but few listened. Most people were talking and milling around the room. So the AFSCME officials, who could hardly be heard, called for a standing vote—when half the crowd was already standing!

After many delegates realized that they had been counted as supporters of the contract, they were furious.

In addition, only 10 percent of the union's 11,000 members were at the meeting. Officials made no provision for on-the-job contract voting. Many Local 44 members were at work during the time the meeting was held; others were holding down a second job to make ends meet.

Union officials apparently feared that on-the-job voting could threaten ratification. When Fire Fighters Local 734 allowed its members to vote by secret ballot this year, nearly 45 percent voted to reject their contract.

After the meeting, unused ballot boxes were found on the auditorium stage. Perhaps these were to be used to put on a democratic show for the press—before so much opposition surfaced.

In 1974 sanitation workers covered by Local 44 were forced to initiate a two-week wildcat strike after union leaders rammed through a similar "ratification." The original contract had called for a twenty-cent-per-hour increase; after the strike, a seventy-cent-per-hour increase was granted.

The current contract achieved an immediate fifteen-cent wage hike (about 4 percent), coupled with another

twenty cents by July of next year (about 8 percent altogether). To head off the local's most militant workers, the union negotiated an extra thirteen cents for sanitation employees.

This wage settlement is totally inadequate. As the *Baltimore Sun* commented in an editorial, the wage increases "don't even match the bite inflation puts on the workers' wallet."

The contract concedes the city the right to lay off workers. The city already issued pink slips to forty-seven employees July 1, and it predicts that hundreds more will follow. The jobs of 405 school crossing guards, for instance, are scheduled to fall under the ax.

The contract also retains a system that allows the city to fire an employee after eight absences during one year.

The city would have a much harder time driving down the living standards of city employees if all unions covering these workers had conducted joint negotiations. Instead, each bargained separately.

As a result, each got picked off separately.

Fire fighters, city college teachers, and other white-collar city employees received two-year increases in the range of 6 to 8 percent. These workers, however, were in higher-paying job categories than Local 44 members from the outset.

This disunity is made worse by the division among teachers into the Public School Teachers Association, associated with the National Education Association, and the United Teachers of Baltimore, affiliated with the American Federation of Teachers.

Both of these unions have been decertified as legal bargaining agents for two years for their participation in the "illegal" 1974 strike initiated by the sanitation workers.

Neither union was able to map a plan for united action to avoid decertification. Meanwhile, 351 teachers have already been laid off, and one regional school board office is to be closed.

With cutbacks hitting all municipal workers, the city unions face common problems and common enemies. They can't afford to let factional considerations block the unity needed to fight these attacks.

Calendar

BOSTON

A HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN WORKING CLASS AND ITS STRUGGLES. A series of three classes. Speaker: Tim Wohlforth, founding leader of the YSA. Sat., July 31, 11 a.m. and 2:30 p.m. Sun., Aug. 1, 12 noon. 510 Commonwealth Ave., Fourth Floor (Kenmore Square). Donation: 50¢ per session. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

CINCINNATI

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Building the revolutionary party. Speaker: Rick Mitts, on *Perspectives for the American revolution*. Mon., July 26, 7:30 p.m. Univ. of Cincinnati, Old

Chemistry Bldg., Room 532. Donation: whole series—\$5. Single session—75¢. Ausp: YSA and SWP. For more information call (513) 321-7445.

DENVER

CUBA: THE VICTORY—PUERTO RICO: THE STRUGGLE. Speakers: Elfego Baca, chairperson of Metro MECHA; Maura Barrios, SWP. Sat., July 31, 8 p.m. 1381 Kalamath. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (303) 623-2825.

PITTSBURGH

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY CAMPAIGN BARBECUE. Speakers: Peter Camejo, SWP presidential candidate; Carla Hoag, SWP candidate for Congress, 14th C.D. Sat., July 24. Barbecue, 5:30 p.m.; rally, 7:00 p.m. 5916 Bryant Ave., Highland Park. Donation: \$2.50. Ausp: Western Pennsylvania Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (412) 682-5019.

...death

Continued from page 7

Participants represented a wide spectrum of organizations, including the American Civil Liberties Union, Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), American Friends Service Committee, Student Coalition Against Racism (SCAR), National Lawyers Guild, Socialist Workers party, prisoners' aid groups, and Metro-Summit Leadership Conference.

The meeting voted to support a debate on capital punishment scheduled for July 29 at Georgia State University and discussed future debates and forums on Georgia campuses.

In conference workshops, activists were enthusiastic about an idea raised by members of SCAR for a statewide rally in the fall.

Tyrone Brooks, communications director of the SCLC, suggested mobilizing in Washington, D.C., when the Supreme Court reconvenes in October. He said he would take this proposal to the SCLC's national convention coming up in August in Mississippi.

These and other proposals will be discussed at future meetings. Participants decided to name their ongoing organization the Georgia Committee Against the Death Penalty.

...1199

Continued from page 17

open their books to public inspection, the union can bring pressure to bear on the arbitrator to grant wage increases. Also, exposing how large corporations that supply the hospitals rake in

profits from the supposedly nonprofit institutions will help the struggle against layoffs.

Activists will face harassment and victimizations from management and the courts. The union will need to mobilize support for the demand that all charges against strikers be dropped, and that cops who attacked picketers be brought to justice.

The attempt by hospital management to break 1199, and the complicity of Democratic and Republican politicians in this attack, is a danger signal that should be taken seriously by all New York unions.

It shows that the "fiscal crisis" attack on municipal unions is now being extended to the private sector in a major way.

It also shows that the logic of this campaign is to break the unions, and that some employers are beginning to adopt that as an immediate perspective.

Unfortunately, throughout the strike and the negotiations that preceded it, other unions did not offer support to the hospital workers.

The relative isolation of the hospital workers made their struggle much more difficult, and encouraged the politicians and employers to try to break the union. Had the attack been successful, similar operations against other unions would have followed in short order.

Nevertheless, the organized power of the membership of District 1199 was sufficient to beat back the employers' attempt to cripple their union. This stands as an example to the rest of New York labor. It shows what can be accomplished when a union relies on its own strength instead of relying on the good will of employers and capitalist politicians.

Night rider convicted in killing of Richard Dunn

By Joel Aber

NEW ORLEANS—Found guilty of second-degree murder in the night-rider slaying of a Black teen-ager, Anthony Mart was sentenced to life imprisonment July 16.

Mart's victim, Richard Dunn, nineteen, was shot and killed March 27 while coming home from a Gary Tyler benefit dance at Southern University in New Orleans (SUNO). Gary Tyler is a Black youth who was convicted by an all-white jury for a murder he did not commit.

Mart's July 12 trial came only after a storm of protest from the Black communities of Pontchartrain Park and Gentilly Woods.

The murder of Richard Dunn was one incident in a series of white terrorist attacks in the Pontchartrain Park-Gentilly section of New Orleans this year. At least eight armed assaults by whites have been reported since February.

As a result of this racist violence, Blacks have formed the Pontchartrain Park Development Citizens Association Against Crime to demand that the police take action to protect their neighborhood.

King Wells and Frank Dejoie, spokespersons for the organization, warned that if city officials are unable to ensure its safety, the Black community would have to take measures to defend itself.

Richard's mother, Hattie Dunn, was dissatisfied with the cursory police investigation of her son's murder. "The district attorney never came to me," she said. "I had to go to them and demand to know what progress was being made in the case."

At Mart's trial, Gus Givens, a friend of Dunn, described what happened the night of the murder. He and Dunn had left the SUNO dance about 3:00 a.m. The pair tried to board a bus, but it was out of order.

While they were walking toward another bus route, an orange Volkswagen drove toward them. The car slowed to a crawl. Mart, one of two white youths inside, looked at Dunn and Givens from across the car's roof while perched on a ledge formed by the open right window. He carefully aimed a shotgun at the two Black youths.

Dunn pushed Givens to the ground. A shotgun blast to the chest killed Richard Dunn, but he had saved the

life of his sixteen-year-old friend.

Assistant District Attorney William Wessel asked Gus Givens how close the car was at the time of the shooting. "Real close. Too close to miss," Givens replied.

The driver of the disabled bus, Ernestine Allen, testified that she had seen the orange Volkswagen cruise past twice just moments before the murder.

Robert Jones, the driver of the Volkswagen, told the jury that Mart had shot Richard Dunn that night. Jones said that after the murder he turned off the headlights and he and Mart laughed as the car sped away.

Jones agreed to turn state's evidence against Mart after being allowed to plead guilty to a lesser charge, accessory to murder. It was apparent that without his testimony, the police would not have put forward enough evidence to secure a conviction against Mart.

Mart was the only witness called by his defense. He claimed he was merely trying to scare the two Black youths.

Mart's attorney asked the jury to return a lesser verdict of manslaughter, claiming that his client had "no motive."

But Walter Collins, coordinator of the Gary Tyler Defense Committee, was told by several of Mart's Black neighbors that the white youth had burned crosses on their lawns and painted racist epithets on their front steps.

Despite this readily available evidence, the district attorney did not try to establish any racist motive for the killing at the trial.

In an interview with the *Militant*, Richard Dunn's sister Janet said, "They didn't want to bring out that it was racist. But everyone in their good common sense knows. He wasn't going out just to scare someone."

The district attorney, she pointed out, "kept race out of it. The D.A. did a poor job as far as I'm concerned."

Janet Dunn was pleased, however, with the verdict returned by the jury of three Blacks and nine whites. "It won't bring my brother back," she said, "but it will give us some relief."

Janet does not believe her brother's murder was an isolated incident. "I think it was something to do with Gary Tyler. They wanted to get a Black because they thought a Black had shot a white," she said.

CAMEJO ON VIDEOTAPE

The Socialist Workers 1976 National Campaign Committee now has available a black-and-white, fifty-five minute videotape of presidential candidate Peter Camejo. The tape, showing Camejo speaking at Florida State University, can be useful in publicizing the socialist campaign and giving more people an opportunity to hear the candidate.

The tape can be reserved by writing the Socialist Workers 1976 National Campaign Committee, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014; or telephone (212) 675-3820. The prepaid rental price is \$5, plus a \$5 refundable deposit.

Officers of the committee: chairperson, Linda Jenness; treasurer, Arthur Hughes.

Issues in Boston

THE RACIST OFFENSIVE AGAINST BUSING: *The Lessons of Boston; How to Fight Back*, by Willie Mae Reid, Peter Camejo, and others. 50 cents

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Class-Struggle Policy in the Rise of the Labor Movement

By Tom Kerry

A forty-year veteran of the labor and socialist movements shows how class-struggle ideas spurred the growth of American unionism, including: the Seattle general strike of 1919; the struggles of West Coast maritime workers in the 1930s; the role of the Communist party; and the part played by revolutionists in left-wing trends in the unions.

An Education for Socialists publication, 8½ x 11 format, 24 pp., 75 cents
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THE MILITANT

Justice for Gary Tyler!

By Joel Aber

NEW ORLEANS—As supporters of Gary Tyler prepared to converge on the Louisiana Supreme Court building for a July 24 rally, the eighteen-year-old Black youth has been ordered removed from death row.

Judge Rueche Marino issued an order July 14 directing that Tyler be transferred from the state penitentiary at Angola to the St. James Parish prison, not far from his family's home in St. Charles Parish. As the *Militant* goes to press, the judge's order has not yet been carried out.

Marino's order came in response to a motion by defense lawyer Jack Pee-

bles, charging that further incarceration on death row would be cruel and unusual punishment and a violation of due process of law.

Marino is the same judge who sentenced Gary Tyler to die in the electric chair for a murder he did not commit. Marino later refused to grant Tyler a new trial despite an admission in open court by the chief prosecution witness that the police had coerced her into giving false testimony against Gary.

Now that Louisiana's death penalty law has been thrown out by the U.S. Supreme Court, the judge had to concede that he could no longer keep Gary Tyler on death row.

Peebles said he expects to present a motion to the Louisiana Supreme Court this week demanding that Gary Tyler be released from jail immediately, while that court waits to hear the appeal for a new trial.

Gary Tyler, although a juvenile last November, was tried as an adult. Under Louisiana law, a juvenile could be tried as an adult on a charge of first-degree murder, but not on a lesser charge. A conviction for first-degree murder carried a mandatory death penalty—which the U.S. Supreme Court recently struck down. However, there were no provisions for an adult criminal court to give a lesser sentence to a juvenile. Thus, according to attorney Peebles, the adult court has no authority to resentence Gary Tyler.

Meanwhile, the university campuses and housing projects in the Black communities of New Orleans are being inundated with leaflets announcing the July 24 rally. The New Orleans Student Coalition Against Racism (SCAR) and the Gary Tyler Freedom Fighters distributed 12,000 leaflets last week at the University of New Orleans and Southern University in New

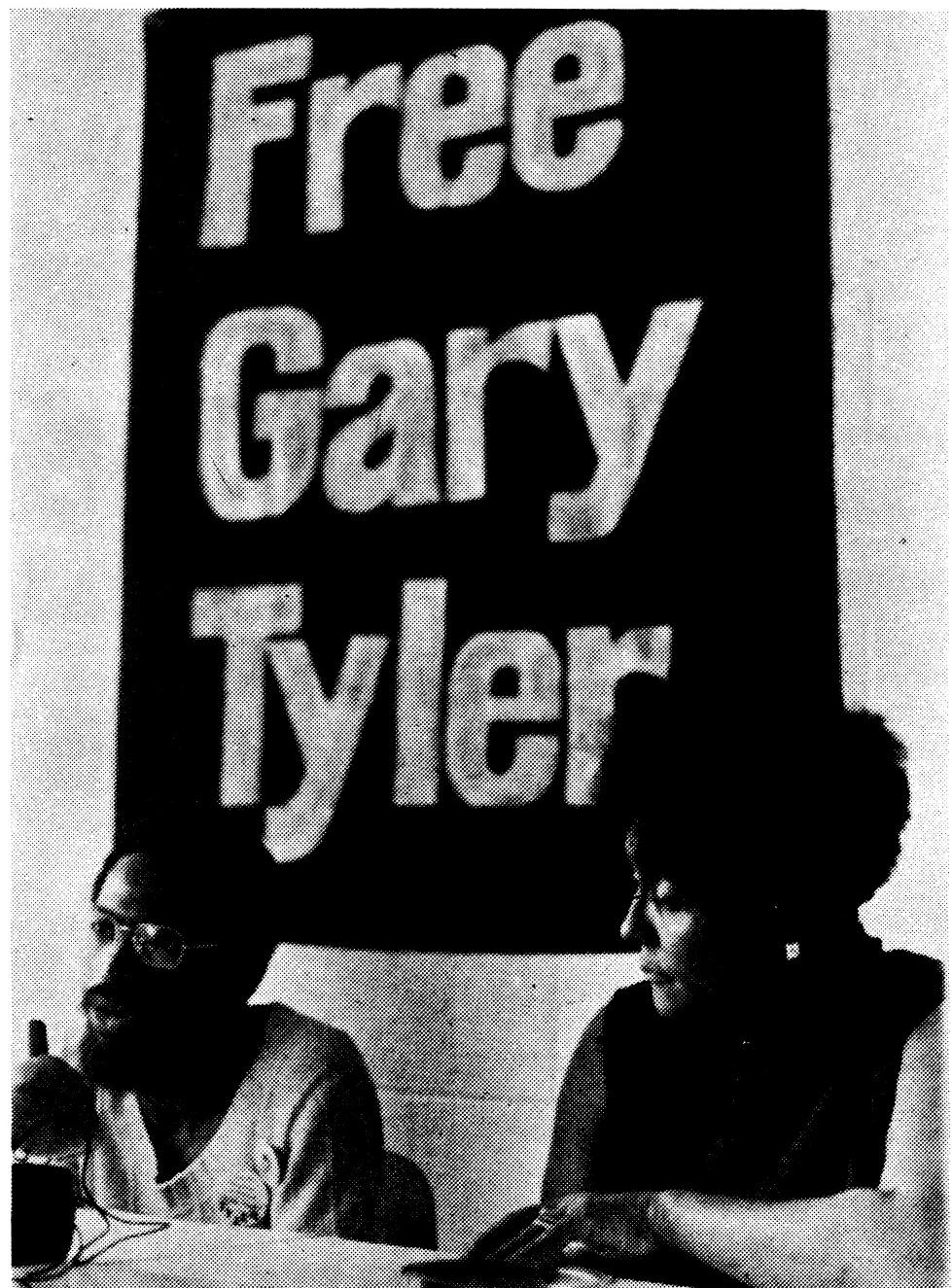
Orleans (SUNO). The Gary Tyler Freedom Fighters are high school students from St. Charles Parish organized by Terry Tyler, Gary's sixteen-year-old brother.

This week the Freedom Fighters leafleted the dormitories at Southern University in Baton Rouge. The Freedom Fighters, SCAR members, and members of the NAACP Youth Council are going door to door through the Tyler family's hometown of St. Rose and neighboring Kenner in a campaign to reach everyone in those Black communities with a letter from Gary's

mother, Juanita Tyler. Her letter says, in part, "Without the help of the people of St. Charles Parish, the struggle of my son, Gary Tyler, would not have come as far. . . .

"We must continue to give our assistance to help free Gary," Juanita Tyler wrote. "I hope all my friends and neighbors will be at the demonstration July 24."

To help, contact Walter Collins, coordinator, Gary Tyler Defense Committee, 1610 Basin Street, New Orleans, Louisiana 70112. Telephone: (504) 522-2244.



Militant/Joe Aber

Defense committee leaders Walter Collins (left) and Juanita Tyler

Convict killer of La. youth



Richard Dunn was murdered in cold blood by white night riders March 27 while on his way home from Gary Tyler benefit. On July 12 his killer was convicted of second-degree murder. See story, page 30.

'No jobs': disaster for Black youths

By Baxter Smith

Chronic Black teen-age unemployment "is viewed as a permanent part of the country's economic system," began a recent article in the *New York Times*.

In twenty years the official rate of Black teen-age unemployment has nearly tripled, rising from 15.8 percent in 1955 to 40.3 percent in June 1976.

Unofficial, but no less authoritative, surveys of Black teen-age unemployment by such groups as the National Urban League put the figure at close to 70 percent. White teen-age unemployment in June was 16.1 percent.

It has proved to be "most unyielding," the *Times* stated, despite the country's recovery from the 1974-75 economic recession, typically described in the Black community as a depression.

"These black youths are regarded

as part of a secondary labor class, with little chance of moving out of the perpetual state of joblessness or of escaping the vicious cycle of low-paying jobs that lack security or chances for advancement," according to the *Times*.

The *Times*'s findings were obtained from interviews with "economists, labor analysts, manpower experts, community leaders and black teen-agers themselves."

They coincide with an analysis presented at the recent national convention of the NAACP by that group's labor director, Herbert Hill. "For Black people the recession is continuing and there is, moreover, an economic decline," Hill reported.

Charlayne Hunter, the Black author of the *Times* articles, said that the problem could mean that "a generation of blacks may be lost to society."

"The failure to attack these prob-

lems," said Bernard Anderson, one of those interviewed, "is tantamount to writing off the future of Black people."

Anderson, a Black professor at the University of Pennsylvania's Wharton School of Finance, added:

"Nothing at the moment promises to reverse the 'permanence' of Black youth joblessness."

"Employers are very afraid to hire Black men today," said one Black teen-ager who states he has been to "about 110 places" with no luck. "Even if you come to an interview clean-shaven, short hair, looking real nice, they think you are going to rob the place or do some kind of damage."

"The man may not like the way I survive, but I'm not going to lie down and die," said another Black teen-ager.

